The Examination of the constant Martyr of Christ, John Philpot, Archdeacon of Winchester, at sundry seasons, in the tyme of his soze imprisonement, conuented and baited, as in these particular tragedies folowynge, it maye (not only to the christen instruction, but also to the mery recreation of the indifferent reader) moste manifestly appeare.

Reade fyrst, and then iudge.

VVhen the vvaters aroſe, the floudde bet vpon this houſe, and could not moue it: for it vvas builded vpon a rock.
Luc. 6.
And the rocke vvas Chriſte.
1. Corinth. 10.

The examination of Iohn Philpot beefore the Quenes commissioners mayster Cholmeley, mayster Roper, and D. Storie, and one of the scribes of the Arches at Newgate sessions hall. 2. of Octob. 1555.

DOctor Story (before I was called into an inner parlour where they satte) came out into the hal where I was, to bew me among other that there were. And passynge by me, sayd: Ha mayster Philpot. And in retournyng immediately agayne, stated against me, beholdyng me, and sayeng that I was well fedde in dede.

Iohn Phil. If I be fatte and in good lykyng (maister Doctour) it is no meruaile, since I haue ben staulled vp in prison this twelue moneth and a halfe in a close corner. I am come to knowe your pleasure wherfore you haue sent for me.

Story. We heare that thou arte a suspecte person, and of heretical opinios: and therfore we haue sent for thee.

Philpot. I haue ben in prison thus long, only vpon the occasion of the disputation made in the conuocation house, and vpon suspecte of the settyng forth the report therof.

Storie. If thou wylt reuoke the same,

and become an honest man, thou shalt be set at libertie, and do ryght well: or elles thou shalte be commytted to the B. of London. How sayest thou? wilt thou revoke it or no?

Phil. I have already aunswered in thys behalfe to myne Ordinarie.

Story. If thou answerest thus, when thou commest before vs anone, thou shalt heare more of our myndes. And with this he went into the parler, and I (within a lyttell whyle after) was called in.

The Scribe. Sir, what is your name?

Phil. My name is John Philpot. And so he intytuled my name.

Storye. This man was Archdeacon of Wyncheſter, of Doctor Ponets preſentement.

Phil. I was Archdeacon in dede, but none of his preſentemente, but by the vertue of a former bowſon, geuen by my Lorde Chauncelour that nowe is.

Story. Ye may be ſure, that my lorde Chauncellour woulde not make any ſuche as he is, Archedeacon.

Roper. Come hyther to me M. Philpot, we beare ſay, that you are out of the catholyke churche, and haue ben a diſturber of the ſame, out of the which who ſo is, he can not be the chylde of

ſal-

saluacion. Wherfore if you wyl come into the same, you shalbe receyued, & fynde fauour.

Philpot, I am come before youre worshypfull maysterships at youre appointment, vnderstandyng that you ar magistrates, authorised by the Queenes maiestie, to whome I owe and wyll do my dus obedience to the vttermoste. Wherfore I desyre to knowe, what cause I haue offended in, wherfore I am now called before you. And yf I can not be charged with any particular matter done contrary to the lawes of this realme, I desyre your maysterships, that I may haue the benefite of a subiect, and to bee deliuered out of my longe wrongefull imprisonement, where I haue lyen this twelue moneth and this halfe, without any callyng to answere before now: And my lyuynge taken frome me, without all lawe.

Roper. Thoughe we haue no particular matter to charge you with all, yet we maye both by our commission, and by the lawe driue you to answer to the suspicion of a slaunder goyng on you: And besides thys, we haue statutes to charge you herein withall.

Phil. If I haue offended any statute, charge me therwithall: and if I haue incurred the penaltie therof, punyshe me accordyngely. And bycause you ar magistrates and executors of the queenes maiesties lawes, by force whereof you doo nowe sytte: I desyre, that

yf I be founde no notorious transgressour of any of them, that I may not be burdened with more then I haue done.

Cholmeley. If the Iustice do suspecte a felon, he may examyn hym vpon suspicion thereof, and cõmyt hym to prison, though there be no facte doone.

Story. I perceiue wherabout this man goeth, he is playne in Cardemakers case, for he made the selfe same allegacions, but they will not serue thee. For thou art an heretike, and holdest against the blessed masse, howe sayest thou to that?

Philpot. I am no heretike.

Story. I wyll proue thee an heretyke. Whosoeuer hathe holden against the blessed masse, is an heretyke: but thou hast holden against the same, therfore thou art an heretyke.

Phil. That whiche I spake that you are able to charge me withall, was in the Conuocation, (where by the Queenes maiesties wyll, and her whole counceil) libertie was giuen to euery man of the house to vtter his conicience, and to say his mynd freely, of such questions in religion, as wer propounded by the Prolocutoure, for the whyche I oughte not to be molested and imprisoned, as I haue bẽ, neyther nowe bee compelled of you, to aunswere to the same.

Story. Thou shalt go to the Lollardes

towẽr, and be handled ther like an he- Fol. 4.
retyke, as thou art: and answere to the same, that thou there diddeste speake, and be iudged by the B. of London.

Philpot. I haue all ready bene conuented of this matter before my Lorde Chauncellour myne ordinarye: who thys longe tyme hathe kept me in pryson, therefore and yf his lordeshyppe wyll take awaye my lyfe, as he hathe doone my libertye and iyuynge, he maye: the whyche I thinke he can not doo of hys conscience, and therefore hath lette me lye thus longe in pryson: wherfore I am content to abyde the ende of hym herein that is myne ordinarye, and doo refuse the audittorye of the Bishop of London, because he is an vncompetent Judge for me, & not myne Ordinarye.

Story. But syr, thou spakeste the wordes in the conuocation howse, whiche is of the bishops of londõs diocese: and therfore thou shalt be caried to the Lollardes towẽr, to be Judged by hym, for the wordes thow spakest in hys diocese, against the blessed masse.

Philpot. You knowe by the law that I maye haue Exceptionem fori: And it is agaynst all equitie, that I should be twise vexed for one cause, and that by such as (by the lawe) haue nothyng to doo with me.

Roper. You can not deny but that you spake agaynst the masse in the conuocation house.

Story. Dost thou now deny that which

thou spakeste there, or no?

Phil. I can not denye that I haue spoken there. And if by the lawe you may put me to deathe therefore, I am here ready to suffer whatsoeuer I shall be adiudged vnto.

The Scribe. This man is ledde of vayne glory.

Cholm. Playe the wise gentilman, & be cõformable & be not stubborne in your owne opiniõs, neyther caste your selfe awaye. I woulde be gladde to doo you good.

Phil. I desyre you syr, with the reste here, that I bee not charged farther at your handes, than the lawe chargeth me, for that I haue done: sens there was than no lawe against that directly, wherwith I am now charged. And you master doctor (of old acquaintance in Oxford) I trust wyll shewe me some frendshyp, and not extremitie.

Story. I tell the yf thow wouldeste be a good Catholyke man, I woulde be thy frende, and spend my gowne to-do the good. But I wylbe no frende to an heretyke, as thow arte: but wyll spend bothe my gowne and my coate, but I wil burne the. Howe sayest thou to the sacramence of the altare.

Phil. Syr, I am not come nowe to dispute with your mayster shyp. And the tyme nowe serueth not therto. But to aunswere to that I may be iaufully charged withall.

Story.

Storye. Well, synce thou wilte not re-
uoke that thow haste done, thou shalte
be had into the lollardes tower.

Phil. Syr synce you wyll needes shewe me
this extemitie, and charge me with my con-
science, I doo desyre to see your commission
whether you haue this authoritie so to doo.
And after the view therof, I shal (accordyng
to my duetie) make you further aunswer, yf
you may by the vertue thereof, burthen me
with my conscience.

Roper. Let him se the commission, is it
here?

Story. Shal we let euerye vyle person se
our commission.

Cholm. Let hym goo frome whence he
came, and on thursdaye he shall se our
commission.

Story. No lette hym lye in the meane
whyle in the Lollardes tower: For
I wyll sweepe the kynges Bentche
and all other prisones also, of these he-
retykes, they shall not haue that re-
sorte they haue had, to skatter theyr
heresyes.

Phil. You haue power to transferre my bo-
dy, from place to place, at your pleasure: but
you haue no power ouer my soule. And I
passe not whyther ye commytte me. For I can
not be worse intreated then I am, kept al day
in a close chaumber. Wherfore it is no mer-
uayle, that my fleshe be puft vp, wherwithall

M. doctour is offended.

Story. Marshall take hym home wyth you againe. And se that you bring him again a thursdaye, and then we shall rydde your fyngers of hym, and after warde of your heretikes.

Phil. God hathe appoynted a daye shortely to come, in the whyche he wylle iudge vs with ryghteousenesse, howe soeuer you iudge of vs nowe.

Roper. Be content to be ruled by master doctour, and shewe your selfe a catholyke man.

Phil. Nay, yf I shuld speake otherwyse then my conscience is, I shuld but dissemble with you. And why be you so earnest to haue me shewe my selfe a dissembler both to God and you, whiche I can not doo.

Roper. We do not requyre you to dissemble wyth vs but to be a chatholyke man.

Phil. If I doo stande in any thyng, agaynst that whiche any man is able to burthen me, with one tote of the scripture, I shall be contente to be counted no catholike man, or an heretike as you please.

Story. Haue we scripture, scripture: & with that he rose vp, sayeng: who shall vs iudge, I praye you?

Scribe. Thys man is lyke hys felowe Wil sodmã which the other day would haue nothyng elles but scripture.

And thys is the beginninge of thys tragedie.

The confuse maner of Iohn Philpots examination had before the Quenes commissioners, mayster Cholm. Roper, D. Story, D. Cooke, and the scribe, the. 24. of October. 1555. At Newgate sessions hall.

AT my commyng, a man of Algate of myne acquayntaunce, sayd vnto me: God haue mercy on you. For you are already condemned in this worlde: for D. Story said, that my lorde Chauncellour hath commanded to do you away. After a lytteli consultation hadde betwene them, mayster Cholmeley called me vnto hym, sayeng:

Chol. Master Phylpot, shew your self a wyse man. And be not stubburne in your owne opinion, but be conformable to the Quenes procedynges, and lyus, and you shall be well assured of great fauour and reputation.

Phil. I shall doo, as it becometh a christian man to doo.

Story. This man is the rankest heretike that hath ben in al my lord Chancellors dioces, & hath done more hurt, than any man elles there. Therefore his pleasure is, that he should haue the lawe to procede agaynst hym. And I haue

hane spoken with my lorde herein. And he wylleth hym to be committed to the bishop of London, And he there to recante or elles burne. He howled & wepte in the connocation howse, and made suche a doo, as never man dyd. As al the heretiks do, when they lacke learning to answere. He shall go after hys felowes. Howe sayest thou: wilte thou recant?

Philipot. I knowe nothing I hane done, that I owght to recant.

Story. Well than I praye you, let vs commit him, to the lollardes tower, & there remayne, vntyll he bee further examined before the bishop of London For he is to fyne fedde in the Kynges Benche, & he hathe to muche fauoure there. For his keper said at the dore ys ferday, that he was the finest felowe, and one of the best lerned in Englãde. And with this he rose vp, and wente his waye.

Cooke. This man hath moste stoutly mayntayned heresies, synce the Quenes comming in, as any that I haue heard of. Therfore it is moste mete, he shoulde bee adiudged by the bishop of London, for the heresies he hath maintayned.

Phil.

Phil. I haue mayntayned no hereſies.

Cooke. No haue? Dyd ye not openly ſpeake agaynſte the Sacrament of the altare, in the Conuocation houſe? call you that no hereſy? wylt thou recante that or not?

Phil. It was the Quenes Maieſties pleaſure, that we ſhuld reaſon therof, not by my ſekyng, but by other mens pwruryng, in the hearn gof the councell.

Cooke Did the Quene gyue you leaue to be an heretyke? you maye be ſure, her grace wyll not ſo doo. Welle, we wyll not diſpute the matter wyth you. My Lorde of London ſhall proceede by inquiſition vpon the, and yf thou wilt not recant, thou ſhalt be burned.

No Cook. But ye take leaue to be a trayter.

Phil. My lorde of London is not myne Ordinarye in this behalfe: and I haue all readye aunſwered vnto myne ordinarye in this matter. And therefore as I haue ſayde before, you ſhall doo me great wyronge, to vexe me twyſe for one matter, ſynce I haue ſuffered this long tmpriſoment, beſydes the loſſe of my lyuynge.

Roper. You were a verye vnmete man to be an Archdeacon.

Phil. I knowe I was as mete a man, as he that hath it nowe.

Cooke. A mete mã quod a? he troubled maiſter Roper and the hole countrey.

Phil. Ther was neuer poore Archdeacon ſo handled at your handꝭ, as I am, & that with out

but any iuſt cauſe ye be hable to lay vnto me.

Cooke. Thou art no Archdeacon.

Phil. I am archdeacon ſtyll, although an other be in poſſeſſion of my liuyng, for I was neuer depriued by any lawe.

Cooke. No ſyr, that nedethe not: for a notorious heretyke ſhulde haue no ordinarie proceedinge about his depriuacion, but the Byſhop may at knowlege therof, procede to depriuacion.

Phil. Maiſter doctour you knowe, that the common lawe is otherwiſe, And beſides this the Statutes of this Realme be otherwyſe, whiche geueth this benefyte to euery perſon though he be an heretike, to enioy his liuyng vntyll he be put to death for the ſame.

Cooke. No, there thou art decepued.

Phil. Upon the lyuyng I paſſe not. But the vniuſt dealyng greueth me, that I ſhulde be thus troubled for my conſcience, contrary to all lawe.

Cholm. Why will you not agree, that the Quenes maieſtye maye cauſe you to be examined of your fayth?

Phil. Aſke you of maiſter D. Cooke, and he wyll tell you, that the temporall magiſtrates haue nothyng to doo with matters of faythe for determination thereof. And S. Ambroſe ſaith: Diuina imperatoriæ maieſtati non ſunt ſubiecta. That the thyngs of god ar not ſubiect to the power and authoritie of princis.

That is an other matter.

Cooke. No: may not the temporall power cõmit you to be examined of your fayth to the biſhoppe.

Phil.

Phil. Yea syr, I deny not that, but you wyll not graunt, that the same may examyne any of their owne authoritie.

A sure solucion.

Cooke. Let him be had away.

Phil. Your maistershyp promised me, the last tyme I was before you, I shuld se your commission, by what authoritie you doo call me, and whether I (by the same) be bound to answere to so muche as you demaunde?

Roper. Let him see the commission.

Scribe. What? than he exhybited it to master Roper, and was aboute to opē the same.

Cooke. No, what will you do? he shal not se it.

Phil. Than doo you me wronge, to call me and vexe me, not shewyng your authoritie in this behaike.

Cooke. Yf we do you wrong cōplaine on vs: and in the meane whyle thow shalt lye in the lollardes tower.

Phil. Syr, I am a poore gentylman: therfore I trust of your gentylnesse you wyll not commyt me to so vyle and strayte a place, beyng founde no heynous trespasser.

Cooke. Thou arte no gentilman.

Phil. Yeas that I am.

Cooke. An heretike is no gentylman, for he is a gentilman that hath gentill conditions.

Phil. The offēce can not take away the state of a gentylmanne, as long as he lyueth, although he were a traytoure. But I meane not to boaste of my gentilmanshyp, but wil

yu-

put it vnder my coote, sence you do no more
esteme it.

Story. What: will you suffre this here-
tyke to prate with you all this daye?

Cooke He sayeth he is a gentilman.

Naye, he will not ta-
ke your name frō you.

Story. A gentilman quod A: he is a vile
heretike knaue. For an heretike is no
gentylmanne: Lette the keper of lol-
lardes tower come in, and haue hym
awaye.

The Keper. Here syr.

Story. Take this manne with you to
the Lollardes tower, or els to the by-
shops Colehouse.

Phil. Syr, yf I were a dogge, you coulde
not appoint me a worse and more vyle place.
But I must be cōtent wyth what so euer in-
iurye you do offer me. God gyue you a more
mercifull hart, you are cruell vpon one, that
hath neuer offended you. I praye you master
Cholmeley shew me some frendshyp, that I be
not caryed to so vyle a place. And he called
me aside, and sayd,

Cholm. I am not skylful of theyr doing
neyther of theyr lawes: I can not telle
what they meane, I wold I coulde do
you good.

Phil. I am contente to go whether you wyll
haue me. There was neuer man more cruelly
handled, than I am at your handes that with
out any iust cause knowen, shoulde thus be
intreated.

Story.

Story. Shall we suffre thys heretyke, thus to reproue vs: haue hym hence.

Philpot. God forgeue you, and giue you more mercyfull heartes, and shewe you more mercye in the tyme of neede. Et quod facis, fac citius. Do quickly that you haue in hande.

Story. Do you not heare, howe he maketh vs Judases?

Philpot. That is after your owne vnderstandinge.

After this I with iiii. other mo, were brought to the kepers howse, where we supped in parler nolter rowe, and after supper I was called vp to a chamber by the archdeacon of Lõdons seruaunte, and that in his masters name he offred me a bedde for that night.

To whome I gaue thankes sayeng, that it shoulde be a greffe to me to lye wel one night, & ỳ next worse. Wherefore I would beginne, as I am like to continue, to take such part, as my felawes dos. And with ỳ we wer brought through pater noster rowe, to my lord of Londons colehowse. Vnto the whiche is ioyned a litle blynd howse, wyth a great payre of stocks, apoynted both for hand and foote. But thankes be to God, wee haue not played of those organes yet, although som before vs had tried them. And ther we founde a Minister of Essex, a maried prieste, a

man of godlye zeale, wyth one other poore man. And thys minister (at my comming) desyred to speake wyth me, and did greatly lament his owne infirmity, for that through extremity of imprisoment, he was constrayned by writynge to yeld to the bishop of London. Wherupon he was once set at libertie And after warde felt suche a hel in his conscience, that he coulde scarce refraine from destroyeng hymselfe, and neuer coulde be at quiet, vntyl he had gone to the bishoppes regester, desyrig to see hys byll agayne, the whyche as sone as he hadde receyued, he tare it in pieces. And afterward he was as Joyful as any man mighte be. Of the whiche when my lord of London had vnderstandinge, he sent for hym, and fell vpon hym like a lyon, and like a manly bishop buffeted him wel, and plucte awaye a great pece of his beard. But now thankes be to God, he is as Joyful vnder the crosse as anye of vs, and verye sorye of hys former infirmity. I write thys, because I woulde all men to take heede, howe they doo contrary to their conscience: whiche is to fal into the paynes of hell.

Here an ende.

The maner of my callynge fyrst before the byshop of London the seconde nyght of my imprisonment in his colehouse.

The byshoppe sente vnto me mayster Ihonson his regester, with a messe of meate, and a good potte of drynke and breade, sayeng that my lord had no knowlage erst of my beyng here, for the which he was sory. Therefore he had sent me and my felowes that meat, knowyng whether I wold receaue the same.

I thanked god for my lordes charite, that it pleased him to remẽbre poore prisoners, desiring almighty god to encrese thesame in him, and all others. And therfore I wolde not refuse his beneficence: and therwith tooke the same vnto my bretherne, prayseyng God for his prouidence towardes his afflicted flocke, that he stereth our aduersaries vp, to healpe the same in their necessitie.

Ihonson. My Lorde woulde knowe the cause of your sendynge hyther, for he knoweth nothynge thereof: and wondreth, that he should be troubled wyth prisoners of other dioceses, then hys owne. And I declared vnto hym the hole cause: After the whyche he sayed, My Lordes wylle was: that I shoulde haue anye frendeshyppe that I wouide desyre, and so departed.

Within a lytle after one of my lordes gen-

tlmen commeth for me. And I was brought into his presence, wher he sat at a table alone wyth three or foure of hys chaplaynes wayting vpon hym: and his regester.

London. Maister Phylpot you are welcome, giue me your hande.

Phil. With that, because he so gentlye put furth his hande, I to rendre curtesy for curtesy, kyssed my hande, and gaue him the same

London. I am right sory for your trouble. And I promise you, before it was wythin these two howres, I knew not of youre being here. I pray you tel me what was the cause of your sendynge hyther: for I promyse you, I knowe nothyng therof as yet: neyther I wold you shoulde not thynke, that I was the cause therof, And I maruayle that other men wyll trouble me with theyr matters. But I muste be obediente to my betters. And ywis, men speake otherwyse of me than I deserue.

Phil. I shewed hym the summe of the matter: that yt was for the disputation in the conuocation howse: for the which I was against al ryght molested.

London. I meruayle that you should be troubled therefore, yf ther were none other cause but this. But peraduenture you haue mayntayned the same since. And some of your frendes of late haue asked, whether you do stād to the same

and

and you haue ſaid yea and for this you might be committed to priſon.

Phil. And yt ſhall pleaſe your lordſhyppe, I am burdeyned none otherwyſe, than I haue tolde you, by the commiſſioners, who haue ſent me hither, becauſe I wyll not recante the ſame.

London. A man maye ſpeake in the parliament houſe thoughe yt be a place of free ſpeche) as he may be impryſoned for. As in caſe he ſpeake woordes of hygh treaſon, agaynſte the Kynge or Quene. And ſo it mighte be, that you ſpake otherwiſe than it became you of the churche of Chriſt.

Phil. I ſpake nothinge, whiche were oute of the artycles, whiche were called in queſtion, and agreed vpon to be diſputed by the hoſte houſe, and by the Queenes permiſſion, and her counſell.

London. Why, may we diſpute of oure fayth.

Phil. Yea that we maye.

London. May I trowe not by the lawe.

Phil. In dede by the ciuile lawe I knowe it is not laufull: but by goodes lawe we maye reaſon therof: for S. Peter ſayth, be ye ready to render accompt vnto all men of that hope which is in you, that demand you of the ſame

London. In deede S. Peter ſayeth ſo. Why then I aſke of you, what your iudgement is of the ſacrament of the aultar?

Phil. My lorde, S. Ambrose sayth, that the disputation of fayth ought to be in the congregation, in the hearyng of the people. And that I am not bound to render accompt therof to euery man priuately, onles it be to chyfye. But nowe I can not shewe you my mynd but I must runne vpon the pikes in daunger of my lyfe therfore. Wherfore as the said doctour said vnto Valentinian the emperour, so say I to your lordshyp, Tolle legem, & fiet certamen, Take awaye the lawe, and I shall reason with you. And yet if I come in open iudgement, where I am bounde by the lawe to aunswere, I truste I shall vtter my conscience as freely as any that hathe come before you.

London. I perceaue you are learned. I woulde haue such as you are aboute me, but you muste come and be of the churche, for ther is but one Churche.

Phil. God forbyd I shuld be out of the churche. I am sure I am within the same: for I knowe as I am taught by the scripture, that there is but one catholike churche. Vna columba, vna sponsa, vna dilecta, One doue, one spouse, one beloued congregation, out of the whiche there is no saluation.

London. Howe chaunceth it than that you go out of the same, and walke not withvs?

Phil. My lorde, I am sure I am within the boundes of the churche, wherevppon she is buylded, whiche is the worde of God.

London. What age are you of?

Phil.

Phil. I am foure and fortie.

London. You are not nowe of the same fayth, youre Godfathers and Godmothers promised for you, in the whyche you wer baptised.

Phil. Yes, that I thanke God I am. For I was baptised in the fayethe of Christe whiche I nowe holde.

London. Howe can that be? there is but one fayth.

Phil. I am assured of that by S. Paule, sayeng: that there is but one god, one fayth, and one baptisme: of the whiche I am.

London. You were ye, yere ago of an other fayth, then you be now.

Phil. In dede (my lord) to tell you playn, I was then nullus fidei, of no fayth, a neuter, a wicked lyuer, neyther hotte nor colde.

London. Why, do you not thynke, that we haue now the true fayth?

Phil. I desyre your lordshyp to holde me excused, for answeryng at this tyme. I am sure that goddes worde throughly with the primatiue churche, and all the auncyente wryters doo agree with this fayethe that I am of.

London. Wel, I promise you, I meane you nomore hurt, than to myne owne person. I wyll not therefore burthen you with youre conscience as nowe. I maruayle that you ar so merry in prysion, as you be synging, and reioysing (as the prophete sayeth) Exultantes in rebus pessimis, reioysynge in your naugh-

tines. We thinke you do not well herin, you shuld rather lament and bee sory.

Phil. My lorde the myrth that we make, is but in syngyng certayn Psalmes, accordyng as we are commaunded by S. Paule, wylyng vs to be mery in the Lorde, syngyng together in hymnes and psalmes: and I trust your lordshyp can not be displeased with that.

London. We may saye vnto you, as Christ sayd in the gospell: Tibijs cecinimus vobis, & non planxistis. And there my lorde stumbled, and could not bryngs further the texte, and required his chaplaynes to healpe, and put hym in remembrance of the texte better, but they were mumme.

Phil. And I recited out the texte vnto hym, whiche made nothyng to his purpose, onles he wolde haue vs to mourne, because they yf they laugh, synge styll sorowfull thynges vnto vs, threatnyng fagottes and fyre.

We are (my lorde) in a darke comfortlesse place: and therfore it behoueth vs to be mery, least, as Salomon sayth, sorowfulnesse eate vp your heart. Therfore I truste your lordshyp wyll not be angrye for our syngynge of psalmes: sence S. Paule sayth, If any man be of an vpryght mynde, let hym syng. And we therefore to testifie that we are of an vpryght mynde to God, though we bee in myserye, doo synge.

London. I wil trouble you no further as nowe, yf I can do you any good, I will

wyll be gladde to doo it for you. God be with you, good master Philpot, & giue you good nighte. Haue hym to the cellar, & let hym drinke a cuppe of wyne. Thus I departed, & by my lordes regester I was broughte to his cellar dore, where I dranke a good cuppe of wine, & my lordes chaplain master Cosyn folowed me, takyng aquaintaūce, saieng, that I was welcome, & wished that I would not be singular.

Phil. I am well taught the contrary by Salomon, savenge: Væ soli: Wo bee vnto hym that is alone. After that I was caried to my lordes colehouse agayne, where I with my fyre felowes doo rouse together in the strawe as chearefully, we thanke God, as other doo in their beddes of downe.

Thus for the thyrde fytte.

The examinacion of master Iohn Philpot had in the Archdeacons house of London, the . day of October before the byshop of London, Bath, Worceſter, and Glouceſter.

MAſter Phylpot, yt hathe pleased my Lordes to take paines hereto daye, to dyne with my poore archedeacon, and in the dinner tyme it chaunced vs to haue commu-

Naye your colin archdecon and you bothe bastardes and .ii. prie stes sonnes.

nication of you. And you were pitied here of many, ỹ knewe you, in the new college in Oxforde. And I also do pytie youre case, because you seme vnto me (by the talke I had wyth you the other night) to be learned. And therfore now I haue sente for you, to come before them, that yt mighte not be sayde hereafter, that I had so many learned bysshoppes at my house, and yet would not vouchsafe them to talke wyth you And at my requeste (I thanke them) they are cõtented so to do. Now therfore vtter youre mynde frely, and you shal with al fauour be satisfied. I am sorye to see you lye in so euel a case, as you do, and woulde fayne you shoulde do better, as you maye yf you lust.

Bathe. My Lordes here, haue not sente for you to fawne vpõ you, but for charities sake, to exhort you to cõme in to the right catholike waye of ỹ churche.

Worcest. Before he beginneth to speak yt is beste that he callethe to God for grace, and to praye: ỹ yt mighte please God, to open his hart, that he may conceyue the truth.

Phil. With that I fell downe vpon my knees before them, and made my praier in this maner: Almyghtie god, which art the geuer of al wysedome and vnderstandyng, I beseche

thee

ebe of thyne infinite goodneſſe and mercy, in Jeſus Chriſt, to gyue me, moſte vnc ſinner in thy ſyght the ſpirite of wyſedom, to ſpeake and make aunſwere in thy cauſe, that it may be to the contentation of the hearers, before whom I ſtande: And alſo to my better vnderſtandyng, if I be deceyued in any thyng.

London. Nay (my lorde of Worceſter) you dydde not well to exhorte hym to make any prayer. For this is the thing they haue a ſyngular pryde in: that they can often make theyr vayne prayers, in the whiche they glorye muche. For in this point, they are muche like to certaine arrãt heretykes, of whome Plinie maketh mention, that dyd dayly ſyng antelucanos hymnos, prayſe vnto God beefore the dawenynge of the daye.

Philpot. My lord, God make me, and all you here preſent, ſuche heretikes as thoſe were, that ſong thoſe morynge hymnes: for they were tyght Chriſtians, with whome the tyrantes of the worlde were offended for their well dooyng.

Bath. Proceede to that he hathe to ſaye, he hath prayed I can not tell for what

London. Saye on maiſter Philpot, my lordes wyll gladly heare you.

Phil. I haue my lordes ben this twelue moneth and a halfe in pryſon, without any iuſte cauſe, that I knowe, and my lyuynge taken

from

from me, without any lauful ozder: And now
brought contrary to ryght from myne owne
territozie and ozdinarye into an other mans
iurisdiction, I knowe not why. Wherfoze yf
your lozdeshyps can burdeyn me with any e-
uyll done, I ſtande here befoze you, to purge
me of the ſame. And yf no ſuche thyng maye
be iuſtely layde to my charge, I deſyze to be
releaſed of this wzongfull trouble.

London. Ther is none here goeth about
to trouble you, but to do you good, yf
we canne. Foz I pzomiſe you ye were
ſente hither to me, without my know-
ledge. Therefoze ſpeake youre conſci-
ence, without any feare.

Phil. My Lozde, I haue learned to anſwere
in matters of religion, in Eccleſiæ legitimæ
vocatus, In the congregation beyng thereto
laufully called, but nowe I am not laufully
called, neyther is here a iuſte congregation,
where I ought to anſwere.

London. In dede this man told me, the
laſte tyme I ſpake with hym that he
was a lawyer: And woulde not vtter
his conſcience in maters of faythe, on
les it were in ỹ hearing of the people,
where he might ſpeake to vaineglozy.

Phil. My lozde, I ſayde not I was a lawyer,
neyther do I arrogate to my ſelf that name,
although I was ones a nouice in the ſame,
where I learned ſome thynge foz myn owne
defence, when I am called in iudgement to
anſwer to any cauſe, and wherby I haue ben
taught, not to put my ſelfe further in daun-
ger,

ger, then I nede, and so farre I am a lawyer and no farther.

Bath. If you wil not answer to my lordes requeste, you seme to be a wylfull man in your opinion.

Phil. My lorde of London is not myne Ordinary before whom I am bound to answer in this behalfe: as mayster D. Cole, which is a lawyer, can well tell you by the lawe. And I haue not offended my lorde of London, wherfore he should call me.

London. Yes I haue to laye to youre charge, that you haue offended in my diocese by speakynge againste the blessed sacramente of the altar: and therfore I maye call you, and procede agaynste you, to punishe you by the lawe.

Phil. I haue not offended in youre diocese, for that which I spake of the sacrament was in Paules Churche, in the Conuocation house, which as I vnderstand, is a peculiar iurisdiction, belongyng to the dean of Paules, and therfore is counted of your lordshyps dioces, but not in your diocese.

London. Is not Paules churche in my diocese? Well I wot, it cost me a good deale of mony by the yere, the leadyng therof.

Phil. That may be, and yet be exempted frō your lordeshyps iurisdiction. And all be it I had so offended in the place of youre diocese, yet I ought, by the lawe, to be sente to myne Or-

Ordinary, yf I requyre it, and not to be punyshed by you that are not myne ordinarye. And alreadye, as I haue tolde you, I haue bene conuented of myne Ordinarye for this cause whiche you go about to enquire of me.

London. Howe saye you M. doctor Cole maye not I procede agaynste hym by the lawe for that he hathe done in my diocese?

Cole. Me thinketh M. Phylpot nedeth not to stande so much with youre lorde chippe in that point, as he doth, sythen you seke not to hinder hym, but to further hym. Therfore I thynke it beste, that he go to the matter, that is layde agaynst hym of the conuocation, and make no longer delaye.

Ye further him to the fyre.

Phil. I wolde wyllyngely shewe my mynde of that matter, but I am sure it wyll bee layde agaynste me to my preiudice, when I come to iudgement.

Cole. Why, than you maye speake by protestation.

Phil. But what shall my protestation auayle in a cause of heresy, as you call it, yf I speake otherwyse then you wyll haue me, sence that whiche I spake in the conuocation house, beynge a place priuileged, cannot nowe helpe me.

London. But M. D. Cole, maye I not procede againste hym, for that offence he hath done in my diocese?

Cole. You may cal him before you (my lorde)

lorde) if he be founde in your dioceſe.

Phil. But I haue by force bene brought out of myn owne dioceſſe, to my lordes, & require to be iudged of myn own ordinary. And therfore I know: mayſter D. will not ſay of his knowlege, ỹ your lordſhip ought to proceede againſt me. And here m. D. wold ſay nothing.

VVor. Do you not thynk to find before my lorde here, as good equity in your cauſe, as before your own ordinarie?

Phil. I can not blame my lorde of Londons equitie, with whome I thanke hys lordeſhip I haue founde more gentyneſſe, ſynce I came, than of myne owne ordinarie, I ſpeake it for no flattery, thys twelue moneth. and thys halfe before, who neuer would cal me to anſwer, as his lordeſhip hath done now twiſe Sed nemo prohibetur vti iure ſuo. But I oughte not to be forſtalled of my right. And therfore I chalenge the ſame, for diuerſe other conſiderations.

London. Now you cã not ſay hereafter but that ye haue ben gently cõmuned wythall, of my lordes here. And yet ar you wilfull & obſtinate in youre errour, and youre owne opinions: and will not ſhew any cauſe, why you will not come into the vnitie of the churche with vs.

Phil. My lordes, ỹ I do not declare my mynd according to your expectation, is as I haue ſayd, becauſe I can not ſpeke without preſent danger of my life: but rather thã you ſhulde

repoꝛte

reporte me by this, eyther obstinate or selfe wylled, without any iust grounde, wher vpon I stande, I wyll open vnto you somewhat of my mynde, or rather the hole: desyryng your lordshyps, whiche seme to be the pyllours of the churche of England, to satisfye me in the same. And I wyll referre all other causes, in the whiche I dissent from you, into one or two articles, or rather to one, whiche includeth them both, in the whiche if I can by the scriptures, bee satisfied at your mouthes, I shall as wyllyngly agree to you, as any other in all poyntes.

London. These heretikes com alwayes with their yffs, as this mā doeth nowe saieng: yf he cā be satisfied by the scriptures, so that he wyll allwayes haue thys exception, I am not satisfied, although the matter be neuer so playnly proued againste him. But wyl you promise to be satisfied, yf my lordes take some paynes about you.

No proofe but pratlynge.

Phil. I saye my lorde. I wyll be satisfied by the scriptures, in that I stande. And I protest here beefore god, and his euen all sonne, Iesus Christ my sauiour, and the holy ghost, hys angelles, and you here present, that be Iudges of that I speake, that I do not stand in any opinion of wilfulnes, or synguliarite, but only vpon my conscience, certaynly informed by Goddes word: from the whych I dare not goe, for feare of damnation. And this is the cause of mine earnestnes in this behalfe.

London. I wyll trouble my Lordes no

longer

longer, seing that you wil not declare your mynde.

Phil. I am aboute so to doo, yf it please your lordshyp to heare me speake.

Bath, Giue him leaue (my lord) to speak that he hath to say.

Philpot. My lordes it is not vnknowen to you, that the chiefe cause why you doo counte me, and such as I am, for heretikes, bicause we be not at vnitie with youre churche. You say you are of the true churche, and we say, we are of the true church. You say, that who is out of your churche, is damned. And we thynke verily on the other syde, that yf we departe from the true churche, wheron we are grafted in Goddes worde, we shuld stande in the state of damnation. Wherefore yf youre lordeshyps can bryng any better auctorities for your church, then we can do for ours: and proue by the scriptures, that the churche of Rome nowe, of the which you are, is the true catholike church, as in all your sermons, wrytynges, and argumentes you do vphold: And that all christen persones ought to bee ruled by the same, vnder payne of dampnation (as you say) and that the same church as you pretende, haue auctoritie to interprete the scriptures, as it seemeth her good: and that all men are bounde to folowe suche interpretations only: I shall be as conformable to the same churche as you may desyre me, the whiche otherwyse I dare not. Therefore I require you for gods sake, to satisfy me in this.

Cole. Yf you stād vpon this point only you may be sone satisfied and you list.

hil. It is the thyng that I require. And to this I haue sayd, I wyl stande, and referre all other controuersies, I stand now against you, and wyll put my hande thereto, yf you mystruste my woorde

London. I praye you maister Phylpot, what fayth were you of .xx. yeres ago? this man will haue euery yeare a new fayth.

Phil. My lorde, to tell you playne, I thynke I was of no fayth, for I was then a wicked liuer, and knewe not God than, as I ought to doo: God forgyue me.

London. No were? that is not so, I am sure, you were of som fayth.

Phil. My lorde I haue declared you on my conscience what I thā was, and iudge of my selfe. And what is that to the purpose, of the thyng I desyre to be satisfied of you?

London. Maister Archedeacon Cole I praye you, laye your mynd to hym.

Cole. What will you saye, yf I canne proue, that it was decreed by a vniuersal coūcel, in Athanasius tyme: that al the christian church should folow the determynation of the churche of Rome? but I doe not nowe remembre where.

Phil. If you, mayster doctour, can shew me the same graunted to the sea of Rome, by the auctorite of the scripture, I wyll gladly harken therto. But I thynke you be not able to shewe any suche thynge: for Athanasius was presydent of Nicene councell, and there

was

was no suche thyng decreed, I am sure.

Cole. Though it wer not than, it might be at an other tyme.

Phil. I desyre to see the proofe thereof. And vppon this, maister Harpesfielde Chauncellour to the bishop of London, broughte in a boke of Ireneus, with certayne leaues turned in, and layed it before the bishops, to help them in their perplexitie yf it might be: the whiche after the bishoppes of Bath and Glocester had redde together, the bishop of Glocester gaue me the booke.

Cloceſt. Take the booke (maiſter Phylpot) and loke vpon that place, and ther may you see, how the church of Rome is to be folowed of all men.

Phil. I toke the booke, and read the place. The which after I had read, I saide, it made nothynge againste me, but againste the Arrians and other heretykes, againste whome Ireneus wrote, prouinge that they were not to be credited bicause they did teache, and folowe after straunge doctrine in Europa: and that the cheſe churche of the same was founded by Peter and Paule, and hadde to hys tyme continued by faythfull succession of the faythfull Bysshoppes in preachyng the trewe gospelle as they had receyued it of the Apostles, and nothynge lyke to the late spronge heretikes. &c. Wherby he concludeth againſt them, that they were not to be hearde, neyther to bee credited. The whyche thynge, yf you my lordes, bee able to proue nowe, of the churche of Rome, then had you as good authoritie againſt me, in my cause now, as Ire-

neus had agaynſte thoſe heretikes. But the churche of Rome hathe ſwarued frome that truthe and ſimplicitie of the goſpell, whiche it mayntayned in Ireneus tyme: and was vncorrupted from that, whiche it is nowe. Wherfore your lordſhips can not iuſtely apply the authoritie of Ireneus, to the church of Rome nowe, whiche is ſo manyfeſtely corrupted from the primatiue churche.

London. So wil you ſay ſtill, it maketh nothinge for the purpoſe, what ſoeuer autoritie we bringe, and will neuer be ſatisfied.

Phil. My lorde, when I doo by iuſte reaſon proue, that the authorities which be brought agaynſt me, doo not make to the purpoſe, as I haue all ready proued, I truſt you wyll receyue myne aunſwere.

VVorceſt. It is to be proued moſt manifeſtly by al auncient wryters, that the ſea of Rome hathe alwayes folowed ỹ truthe, and neuer was deceyued, vntil of late certayne heretikes had defaced the ſame.

Phil. Let that be proued, and I haue done.

VVorceſt. Naye, you are of ſuche arrogancye, ſingularitye, and vayne glorye, that you wyll not ſe it, be it neuer ſo well proued.

Philpot. Ha my lordes, is it now tyme, thynke you, for me, to folowe ſingularitie or vayneglory, ſynce it is nowe vppon daunger of my lyfe and deathe, not onely preſently, but alſo

before

before God to come: and I knowe, if I dye not in the true fayth, I shal dye euerlastyngly: and agayne I knowe, yf I doo not as you wolde haue me, you wyll kyll me, and many thousandes mo. Yet had I lieffer perysshe at your handes, than to perysshe eternally. And at this tyme, I haue loste all my commodities of this worlde, and nowe lye in a coale house, where a man wolde not laye a dogge, with the whiche I am well contented.

Cole. Wher are you able to proue, that the churche of Rome hathe erred at any tyme: and by what historie: certain it is by Eusebius, that the church was stablyshed at Rome by Peter & Paule and that Peter was Bysshoppe. xxv. yeres at Rome.

Phil. I know well, that Eusebius so writeth, but if we compare that which S. Paule writeth to the Galathians the first, it wyl manifestly appeare the contrarye, that he was not halfe so longe there. He lyued not past. xxxv. yeares, after he was called to be an apostle, And Paule maketh mencion of his abidyng after Christes death more than. xviii. yeares.

Cole. What did Peter write to the Galathians.

Phil. No, I say, Paule maketh mencion of Peter, writyng vnto the Galathians, and of his abidyng. And further, I am able to proue, bothe by Eusebius, and other historiographers, that the churche of Rome hathe manifestly erred, and at this present doth erre, because she agreeth not with that which they

wrote. The primatiue church dyd vse accor-dyng to the gospell. And there needeth none other proofe, but compare the one with the other.

Herke my lordesvvise parabable.

London. I maye compare this man to a certayne man I reade of, which fell in to a desperation, and went into a wood to hange hym selfe And whan he came there, he went bewynge of euery tree, and coulde fynde none, on the whyche he myght vouchsaffe to hang hymselfe. But I will not applie it, as I myght. I praye you (maister doctor) go forthe with hym.

Nother you nor they ar able in this case.

Cole. My lorde, there be on euerye syde on me, that be better hable to answere him. And I loue not to fall in disputa-tion, for that nowe a dayes a man shal but sustayne shame and obloquy ther-by of the people. I had leuer shewe my mynde in wrytyng.

Phil. And I had leauer that you shuld so do, than otherwyse. For then a man maye better iudge of your woordes, then by argumente. And I beseche you so doo. But yf I were a ryche man, I durst wager an hundreth poun des, that you shall not be hable to shewe, that you haue sayde to bee decreed by a generall counsel in Athanasius tyme, For this I am sure of, that it was concluded by a general councell in Affrica, many yeares after, that none of Affrica, vnder payne of excommu-nication should appeale to Rome, the whiche

decree.

decree I am sure they wolde not haue made, yf by the scriptures it had ben, and by an vniuersall counsell, that all men shoulde abyde, and folowe the determination of the churche of Rome.

Cole. But I can shewe that they reuoked that errour agayns.

Phil. Do you saye mayster doctour. But I pray you shewe me where. I haue hytherto heard nothyng of you, for my contentation, but bare wordes, without any authoritie.

London. What (I praye you) ought we to dispute with you, of our fayth? Iustinian in the lawe hath a title, De fide catholica, to the contrary.

Phil. I am certayn the ciuile lawe hath such suche a constitution: but our fayth must not not depende vpon the ciuile lawe. For as S. Ambrose sayth, Non lex sed fides congregauit ecclesiam, Not the lawe, but the gospelle sayth he, hath gathered the church togyther.

VVorcest. Walter Philpot, you haue the spirite of pryde, wherwith ye be ledde, which will not let you yelde to ỹ truth Leaue it for shame.

Philpot. Syr, I am sure I haue the spirite of fayth: by the whiche I speake at this presente. Neyther am I asshamed to stande in my faith.

Glocest. What? doo you thynke youre selfe better learned, then so many notable learned men as be here.

Phil. Elyas alone had the truthe, when there

were foure hundreth prieſtes againſt him.

VVorce. Dh you wolde be counted now for Helyas. And yet I tell the, he was decepued. For he thought, there hadde been none good but him ſelfe, and yet he was decepued, for there was. vii. hundred beſydes hym.

Phil. Yea, but he was not deceued in doctrine as the other. vii. hundreth were.

VVorceſt. By my fayth you are greatly to blame, that you can not be contente to be of the churche, whiche euer hath ben of that faithfull antiquitie.

Phil. My lorde I knowe Rome, and haue ben there, where I ſawe your lordſhip.

VVorc. In dede I dyd fle from hens thither. And I remember not, that I ſaw you ther. But I am ſory that you haue bene there, for the wickednes, whiche you haue ſeene there, peraduenture cauſeth you to doo as you doo.

Phil. No my lorde, I do not as I do, for that cauſe For I am taught othe. wiſe by the Goſpell, not altogether to refuſe the miniſter for his euell iuuynge: ſo that he bring ſounde doctrine out of Goddes boke.

VVorc. Doue you thynke, that the vniuerſall churche may be deceiued?

Phil. S. Paule to the Theſſalonians prophecied, that there ſhoulde bee an vniuerſall departyng from the fayth, in the later dayes, before the commyng of Chriſte, ſaying: Non

veniet

veniet Christus, nisi venerit defectio prius.
That is, Christ shall not com, tyll ther come a departyng fyrst.

Colc. Yea, I praye you, howe take you the departinge there, in S. Paul: It is not ment of faith, but of the departing frome the empyre. For it is in Greeke Apostasia.

Phil. Mary in dede you, M. Doctour, put me in good remembraunce of the meanynge of saynt Paule in that place. For Apostasia is propryely a departyng from the fayth, and ther of commeth Apostata, whiche propryely signifieth one that departeth from his fayth. And saynt Paule in the same place after speaketh of the decay of the Empire.

Colc. Apostasia, doth not only signifye a departing from the fayth, but also frō the Empyre, as I am hable to shewe.

Phil. I neuer redde it so taken, and when you shalbe hable to shew it, as you say in wordes, I wyll beleue it, and not before.

VVorcest. I am sory that you shoulde be againste the christen worlde.

Phil. The worlde commonly, and suche as be called Christians, for the multitude hath hated the truthe, and ben enemyes to the same.

Glouc. Why maister Phylpot, doo you thynke, that the vniuersal church hath erred, and you onelye to be in the truthe?

Phil. The churche that you are of, was neuer vniuersalle. For two partes of the worlde

(which is Asia and Affrica) neuer consented to the supremacy of the bysshop of Rome, as at this day they doo not, neyther doo folowe his decrees.

Gloce. Yes, in Florentines coũsel they did agree.

Phil. It was sayde so by false reporte, after they of Asia and Affrica were gone home. But it was not so in deede, as the sequele of them all hytherto doth proue the contrary.

Gloce. I praye you, by whome wil you be iudged in matters of controuersie, which happen dayly?

Phil. By the worde of God. For Christ sayth in S. John: The woorde that he spake, shal be iudge in the later daye.

Gloce. What yf you take the word one waye, and I an other waye: who shall be iudge then?

Phil. The primatiue churche.

Gloce. I know you meane the doctours that wrote therof.

Phil. I meane verely so.

Gloce. What yf you take the doctours in one sence, and I in an other: who shalbe iudge then?

Phil. Then let that be taken which is most agreable to Goddes woorde.

Cole. My lordes, why do you trouble your selues, to answer him in this matter: it is not the thing: whych is layed to his charge, but his errour of the sacrament:

cramente: and he to shyftehym selfe of that, brought in an other matter.

Phil. This is the matter, master Cole, to the whiche I haue referred all other questions, and desyre to be satisfied.

VVorcest. It is wonder to se, howe he standeth with a fewe, against a greate multitude.

Phil. We haue almost as many as you. For we haue Asia, Affrica, Germany, Denmark and a great parte of Fraunce, and dayly the numbre of the gospell dooth increase: so that I am credibilye informed, that for this religion in the whiche I doo standе, and for that whiche I am lyke to dye: a great multitude doothe dayly come out of Fraunce, throughe persecution, that the cities of Germanye bee scarse hable to receaue them. And therefore your lordshyp may be sure, the worde of god wyll (one daye) take place: Doo what you can, to the contrary.

VVorcest. They were wel occupied, to bring you suche newes, and you haue ben wel kept, to haue suche resorte vnto you, thou arte the arrogauntest and stoutest fonde fellowe, that euer I knewe.

Philpot. I pray youre lordshyp to beare with my hastye speache: for it is parte of my corrupte nature, to speake somewhat hastylye. But for all that, I meane with humilitie, to doo my dutie to your lordeshyps.

London.

London, Maister Philpot, my lordes wylle trouble you no further at this tyme. But you shall go frome whense you came, and haue suche fauoure, as in the meane whyle, I can shewe you, and vpon wednesday nexte, you shalbe called agayne, to be hearde what you can say, for the mayntenance of your errour.

Phil. My lorde, my desyre is to be satisfied of you, in that I haue required: and youre lordshyp shal synde me, as I haue sayd.

VVorcest. We wysshe you as welle as our selues

Phil. I thinke the same, my lordes, but I fere you are deceaued: and haue a zeale of youre selues, not accordynge to knowlege.

VVorcest. God sends you more grace.

Naye God rydde hys shepe frō such vvolues.

Phil. And also God encrease the same in you, and open your eies, that you may see to maintaine his truthe, and his true church.

Than the byshops rose vp, and consulted togyther, and caused a writyng to be made, In the whiche, I thynke, my bloude by them was boughte and solde, and therto thei put to theyr handes, and after this I was caried to my colehouse agayne.

Thus endeth the fourthe parte of this tragedie. God hasten the ende therof to his glory. Amen.

Becauſe I haue begonne to wryte vnto you, of myne examinations before the byſhop, and other, more to ſatisfye your deſire, than it is any thyng worthy to be written: I haue thought it good, to write vnto you alſo, that whiche hath ben of late, that the ſame myghte come to lyghte, whiche they doo in darkenes and priuy corners, and that the worlde nowe and the poſteritie hereafter myght knowe, howe vnorderly, vntuſtly, and vnlearnedly, theſe rauenyng wolues doo procede, agaynſte the ſelye and faithfull flocke of Chriſt: and condemne and perſecute the ſyncere doctrine of Chriſt, in vs, whiche they are not hable by honeſte meanes, to reſiſte, but onely by tyranny, and violence.

The examination of Iohn Philpot before the biſhoppes of London, Rocheſter, Couentre, S. Aſſe, I trovve, and one other, whoſe ſeas I knovve not: D. ſtorie, Curtop, D. Sauerſon, D. Pendleton vvith diuers other chaplaines and gentlemen of the Quenes chamber, with diuers other gentlemen, in a galery of my lord of Londons palace.

After Phylpot come you hyther, I haue deſired my lordes here, and other lerned men to take ſom paynes ones agayne, and to do you good: and becauſe I do mind to ſit in iudgement on you to morow (as London.

I

I am commaunded) yet I would you shoulde haue as muche fauoure, as I canne shewe you, yf you wyll be anye thing conformable. Therfore play the wise man, and be not singular in your opinion, but be ruled by these learned men.

Phil. My lord that you say, you will syt on me in iudgement to morowe, I am gladde therof. For I was promysed by theim, whyche sent me vnto you, that I shuld haue ben iudged the next day after: but promise hath not bene kepte with me, to my farther greefe. I looke for none other, but death at your handes. And I am as ready to yealde my lyfe in Christes cause, as you be to require it.

London. Loo, what a willfull man thys is. By my faythe it is but folye to reason wyth hym, neyther wyth anye of these heretykes. I am sorye, that you wyll be no more tractable, and that I am compelled to shewe extremitye agaynste you.

Phil. My Lorde, you nede not to shewe extremitie agaynst me, onelesse you lyste. Neyther by the lawe, as I haue sayde, you haue nothyng to doo with me: For that you are not myne Ordinary. Albeit I am, contrarye to all ryght, in your prison.

London. Why, the Quenes commissioners sente you hyther vnto me, vpon your examination had before them, I know

knowe not well the cause. But I am sure, they woulde not haue sente you hither to me, onles you had made some talke to them otherwise, than it becommeth a christian man.

Phil. My lorde, in dede they sente me hyther without any occasion than ministred by me. Onely they layde vnto me the disputation I made in the conuocation house: requiryng me to answere to the same, and to recant it, the whiche bycause I wolde not doo, they sent me hyther to your lordship.

London. Why dydde you not answere them therto?

Phil. For that they were temporal men, and oughte not to be Iudges in spirituall causes, whereof they demaunded me, wythoute shewing any auctority, wherby I was bound to answere them: and herevpon they committed me to your pryson.

London. In dede I remember nowe, you mayntayned open heresye in my diocese, wherefore the commissioners sent you vnto me, that I should proceede againste you, for that you had spoken in my diocese.

Phil. My lorde I stande styll vpon my lawful plea in thys behalfe, that though it were as great heresie, as you suppose it, yet I ought not to bee troubled therfore, in respect of the priuilege of the parliamēt house, wherof the conuocation house is a member, where all

men

men in matters propounded maye frankely speake their myndes: and here is presente a gentylman of the Queenes maiesties that was present at the disputation, and can testifye, that the questions whiche were there in controuersy, were not sette foorthe by me, but by the prolocutour, who required in the Quenes maiesties name, all men to dispute their myndes freely in the same, that were of the house.

The Quenes gentilman. Though the parliament house, be a place of priuilege for men of the house to speake, yet maye none speake anye treason, against the Quene, nor maintayne treason agaynste the crowne.

Philpot. But if any matter (which otherwise wer treason to speake of it) wer it treason for anye person to speake therein, specially the thynge beeynge proposed by the speaker? I thinke not.

The Quenes gentleman. You maye make the matter easye inough to you yet, as I perceyue, yf you wyll reuoke the same, whiche you did there so stubburnly mayntayne.

S. asse This mā did not speake vnder reformacion, as many there did, but agonicos and catagonicos, whiche is earnestly and persuasibly as euer I heard any

Phil. My lordes, synce you wyl not ceasse to trouble me, for that I haue lawfully doone, neyther wyll admyt my iust defence, for that was spoken in the parliament house by me, contrary to the lawes and custome of the realme, I appeal to the hole parliament house,

to

to bee iudged by the same, whether I oughte thus to be molested, for ẏ I haue ther spokē.

Roche t. But haue you not spoken and maynteined the fame, sence that tyme or no?

Phil. If any man can charge me iustly therwith, here I stande to make answere.

Rochest. Howe say you to it nowe? will you stande to that you haue spoken in the conuocation house? and doo you thynke you sayd then well or no?

Phil. My lorde you are not myne ordinary to procede Ex officio agaynst me: and therefore I am not bound to tell you my conscience of your demaundes.

S. Asse. What saye you nowe? is not there in the blessed sacramente of the aultare (And vvith that they put of all their cappes, for reuerence of that ydo l) the presence of our sauioure Christe, really, and substancially, after the wordes of consecration?

Phil. I doo beleue in the sacrament of Christes body duely ministred to be suche maner of presence as the woorde teacheth me to beleeue.

S. Asse. I praie you howe is that?

Phil. As for that I wyll declare an other tyme, when I shall bee laufully called to dispute my mynde of this matter, but I am not yet dryuen to that poynt. And the scripture sayth: All thynges ought to be doone after an order.

An other bif. Thys is a frowarde and a vayne glorious man.

London. It is not lawfull for a man (by the ciuile lawe) to dispute his faythe openly, as it it appeareth in the title, de summa trinitate, & fide catholica.

Philpot. My lorde, I haue answered you to this question before.

London. Why I neuer asked the of this before nowe.

Philpot. Yes, that you dyd, at my last examinatton, by that token I answered your lordeshyp by S. Ambrose, that the churche is congregated by the worde, and not by mans law, wherfore I adde now further of this sayeng, Quod qui fidem repudiat, & legem obiicit, iniustus est, quia Iustus ex fide viuit, That he which refuseth the worde, and obiecteth the lawe, is an vniust man, because the iust shall lyue by faythe. And moreouer (my lorde) the title whiche your lordeshyp alledgeth oute of the lawe, maketh it not vnlaufull, to dispute of all the articles of the faythe, but of the Trinitie.

Note vvell

London. Thou lyest, it is not soo. And I will shewe you by the booke, howe ignorant he is.

And with that, he went with all hast to hys studie, and fette his booke, and openly redde the text and the tytle of the lavv, and charged me with suche vvordes, as semed to make for hys purpose, sayenge, hovve sayeste thou to this?

Phil.

Phil. My lorde, I saye as I dyd before, that the lawe meaneth of the catholike faythe, determyned in the counceile of Calcedonia, where the artycles of the Crede were onely concluded vpon.

London. Thou art the veriest beast, that euer I heard, I must nedes speake it, thou compellest me therunto. Naye thou art a beast.

Phil. Your lordeshyp may speake your pleasure of me. But what is this to the purpose whyche your lordeshyp is so earnest in? You knowe, that our fayth is not grounded vpon the ciuile lawe. Therfore it is not materiall to me, what soeuer the lawe sayth.

London. By what lawe wilt thou be iudged: wilte thou be Iudged by the common lawe?

Phil. No my lorde, our faythe dependeth not vpon the lawes of man.

S. asse. He wilbe iudged by no lawe, but as he list himselfe.

VVorcest. The common lawes are but abstracts of the scriptures and doctors

Phil. What so euer you doe make them, they are no grounde of my fayth, by the whyche I ought to be iudged.

London. I must nedes proceede againste the to morow.

Phil. If your lordshyppe so do, I wyll haue Exceptionem fori, for you are not my competent iudge.

London. By what law canst thou refuse me, to be thy iudge?

Phil. By the ciuile lawe De competente iudice.

London. There is no ſuche tytle in the lawe. In what boke is it as counning a lawyer as you be?

Phil. My lorde, I take vppon me no greate cunnyng in the law, but you dryue me to my ſhyftes for my defence. And I am ſure yf I had the bookes of the lawe, I were hable to ſhewe what I ſaye.

London. What? Competente Iudice? I wyll go fette the my bokes. There is a tytle in dede De officiis Iudicis ordinarii.

Phil. Verily that is the ſame De competente iudice, whiche I haue alledged. With that he ranne to his ſtudy, and brought the whole courſe of the lawe betwene his handes, whiche, as it myghte appeare, he had well occupied, by the duſt they were embrued withall.

London. There bee the bookes, fynde it out (yf thou canſte) and I wil promyſe the, to releaſe the out of pryſon.

Phil. My lorde, I ſtande not here to reaſon matters of the ciuile lawe. (although I am not altogether ignoraunte of the ſame) for that I haue ben a ſtudent in the ſame ſixe or ſeuen yeres: but to anſwere to the articles of fayth, wyth the which you maye lawfully burthen me. And where as you go about vnlawfully to procede, I chalenge according to my knowledge, the benefyte of the lawe, in my defence.

London. Why, thou wilt anſwer directly

ely to nothyng thou art charged wyth al. Therfore say not hereafter, but you myght haue ben satisfied here by learned men, yf you woulde haue declared your mynde.

Phil. My lorde, I haue declared my mynde vnto you, and to other of the byshops, at my last beyng before you, desyryng you to be satisfied but of one thynge, wherevnto I haue referred all other controuersies, the which if your lordshyppes nowe or other learned men can symplye resolue me of, I am as contented to be as reformable in al thynges, as you shall require, the which is to proue, that the churche of Rome, wherof you are, is the catholike churche.

Couentre. Why do you not beleue your Crede, Credo ecclesiam catholicam.

Philpot. Yes, that I do, but I can not vnderstande Rome, wherwithall you nowe burden vs, to be the same, neyther lyke to it.

S. Asse. It is most euidente, that S. Peter dyd buylde the catholyke churche at Rome. And Christ sayd, Tu es Petrus & super hanc petram edificabo ecclesiam meam. Moreouer the succession of bishops in the sea of Rome can be proued, frō time to time, as it can be of none other place so wel, which is a manifest probation of the catholike churche, as dyuers doctours doo write.

Phil. That you wold haue to be vndoubted, is moste vncertayn: and that by the authori-

tie, whiche you alledge of Christ, sayeng vnto Peter, Thou art Peter, and vppon this rocke I wyll buylde my churche: onles you can proue the rocke to signifie Rome, as you wolde make me kaisely beleue. And although you can proue the succession of bishops from Peter, yet this is not sufficiente, to proue Rome to be the catholike churche: onles you can proue the succession of Peters faythe, whervpon the catholike churche is buylded, to haue continued in his successours at Rome, and at this present to remayne.

Marcke vvel.

London. Is ther any mo churches than one catholike churche? and I pray you tell me, into what fayth were you baptized?

Phil. I acknowledge one holy catholike and apostolike churche, wherof I am a membre, (I prayse God) and I am of that Catholyke faythe of Christe, wherinto I was baptised.

Couentre. I pray you, can you tel what this word catholike, doth signifie? shew yf you can.

Phil. Yeas that I can, I thanke God. The catholyke faythe or the catholike churche is not as nowe adayes the people bee taught, to be that whiche is most vniuersall, or of most part of men receyued, wherby you do inferre our fayth to hange vpon the multitude, whiche is not so. But I esteeme the catholyke faythe and the catholyke churche to be as S. Austen defyneth the same: Estimamus fidem catholicam à rebus præteritis, præsentibus, & futuris, We iudge (sayethe he) the catholike faith, of that whiche hath ben, is, and shalbe.

So

So that if you canbe able to proue, that your fayth & church hath ben from the beginnyng, taught and is, and shalbe: then may you cõt your selues catholikes, otherwise not. And catholike is a greke word, cõpounded of cata, which signifieth after, or accordyng, & holon, a summe, or principle, or holie. So that catholike church or catholike fayth, is as much to say, the fyrst, hole, sound or chiefest faythe.

London Doth S. Austen saye so, as he alledgeth it: or doth he meane thus, as he taketh the same: how saye you maister Curtoppe:

Curtop. In dede (my lorde) S. Austen hath suche a sayeng, speakinge against the Donatistes: that ỹ catholike fayth ought to be esteemed of thynges in tymes past, and as they are practised accordinge to the same. And ought to be throughout al ages & not after a new maner, as the Donatistes begã to professe.

Phil. You haue sayed well, maister Curtop, and after the meanyng of S. Austen. And do confirme that whiche I haue sayd, for the signification of catholike.

Couentre. Let the boke be sene my lord.

London. I praye you my lorde be content, or in good fayth I wyll breake euen of, & let all alone. Do you thinke ỹ catholike churche (vntyll it was wyth in these fewe yeres, in the which a few vpon singularitie haue swarued from

the same hath erred.

Phil. I do not thynke that the catholike churche can erre in doctrine, but I require you to proue the churche of Rome to be this catholyke churche.

Curtop. I can proue ẏ Ireneus, (which was wythin an hundred yeares after Christ) came to Victor then byshop of Rome, to aske his aduise about the excommunicatiõ of certayne heretykes, the which he would not haue done (by al lykelyhode) yf he had not taken hym to be supreme head.

wyisely. Curtop.

Couentre. Marke wel this argument. Howe are you able to answere to the same? Answere, yf you can.

Phil. It is soone answered, my lorde: for that it is of no force, neyther this fact of Ireneus proueth no more for the supremacy of the byshop of Rome, then myne hath doone, whiche haue ben at Rome as well as he, and might haue spoken with the pope yf I had lyst: and yet I would none in England dyd fauor his supremacy more then I.

S. Asse. You ar the more to blame by my fayth of my bodye for that you fauour the same no better: sence all the catholyke churche vntyll these fewe yeares haue taken hym to be supreme heade of the churche, beside thys good man Ireneus.

Youre othe is as greate as if a dog sware by his christendom.

Phil. That is not lykely that Ireneus so

toke

toke hym, or the primatiue churche. For I am able to shew seuen generall councels after Ireneus tyme, wherein he was neuer so taken, whiche may be a sufficiente proofe, that the catholike primatiue churche neuer tooke hym for supreme head.

The other Bis. Thys man wyll neuer be satisfyed, saye what we can. It is but folye to reason any more with hym.

Phil. Oh my lordes, wyl you haue me be satisfied with nothing? Iudge I pray you, who of vs hath better authoritie, he whiche bryngeth the example of one man going to Rome or I that by these many generall councels, am hable to proue, that he was neuer so taken many hundreth yeares after Christe, as by Nicene, Ephesyne the fyrst and the second Calcedonen, Constantinopolitane, Carthaginen, Iustines.

Couentre. Why will ye not admitte the churche of Rome, to be the Catholyke churche?

Phil. Bycause it foloweth not the primatiue catholike churche, neyther agreeth with the same, no more then an appie is lyke a nutte.

Couentre. Wherin doth it discent.

Phil. It were to longe to recite all, but two thynges I wyll name; the supremacy, and Transubstantiation.

Curtop. As for transubstantiation, albeyt yt was set furthe and decreed for an artycle of faythe, not muche aboue thre hundreth yeres, yet it was alwaies beleued in the churche.

London.

London. Yea that it was, very wel saide of you maister Curtoppe.

Philpot. Ye haue sayd ryght, that transubstantiation is but a late plantation of the bishop of Rome, and you are not hable to shew any ancient wryter, that the primatiue churche dyd beleue any suche thynges. And with this Curtop shranke away. And immediately after, the ambassadoure of Spayne came in, To whom my lorde of London went, leauynge the other with me. To whom I sayd, my lordes, yf you can shewe me, that this churche of Rome, wherof you are membres, is the true catholike churche, I shall be content to be one therof. And as conformable to the same, as you can require me in all thynges. For I knowe there is no saluation but within the churche.

Couentre. Can you dysproue that the churche of Rome is not the catholyke churche?

Phil. Yea that I am hable, but I desyre rather to heare of you for the proofe therof. And seyng I can not haue my request at your hādes, neyther bee satisfied with any probable authoritie, I wylle shewe you good proofe, why it is not the catholike churche (as it was in dede) and ought to be the forme, and schole maystres of the churche to the worldes ende: that is not the church of Rome nowe the catholyke churche, whyche dissenteth so farre from the same both in doctrine and vse of the sacramentes.

Couentre. Now proue you that the churche of Rome nowe dissenteth in doc-

trine and vse of the sacramentes, from the primatiue churche?

Phil. Compare the one with the other, and it wyll soone appeare, as you maye see bothe in Eusebius, and in other Ecclesiasticall and auncient wryters.

Couentre. What haue you to saye more why it is not the catholike churche.

Philpot. Because it is not (by your owne interpretation of the catholike) vniuersall, neither neuer was, all be it you falsely persuade the people, that it is so. For the world beyng diuided in three partes, Asia, Affrica, and Europa: two partes therof Asia & Affrica, professyng Christe as well as we) did neuer consent to the churche of Rome, which is of Europa, whyche is a sufficient testimonie, that your faythe was neuer vniuersall.

Couentre. Howe proue you that?

Philpot. All the hystoriographers whyche wryte of the procedynges of the churche, doo testifie the same. Beslydes that this presente tyme doth declare that to be tru, which I say. For at this presente the churche of Asia and Affrica dooe not consente to the churche of Rome. Yea and besides al this, the most part of Europa dooeth not agree neyther allowe the churche of Rome. As Germanye, the kyngdome of Denmarke, the kyngedome of Poole, a great parte of Fraunce, Englande, and Sealande: whyche is a manyfeste probation, that your churche is not vniuersall. And after this, the byshop of London called away the other byshoppes, and lefte with me

diuers

dyuers gentylmen, with certayne of his chaplaynes, as doctour Sauerson an engly she man, whiche had proceded doctour in Bonony, who after began with me in this maner.

D. Sauer. Master Philpot, I remember you beyond the sea synce the time you reasoned with a fryer, (a notable learned man) commynge from Venece to Padua in a barge.

Philpot. I can not forget that, for the fryer threatned me to accuse me of heresy, as sone as he came to Padua, for that I talked with hym so boldly of the truthe. He was no such learned man as you name hym to be, but only in his schoole poyntes, a good Purgatory fryer.

D. sauer. Well, he was a learned man for all that. And I am sorye to heare, that you this daye, hauing communed wyth so manye notable learned men, ar no more conformable to them than you be.

Phil. I wyl be conformable to all them that wyll be conformable to Christe in his worde. And I praye you good maister Doctour, be not so conformable to please men more than god, contrary to your learnyng, for worldely estimations sake.

D. sauer. No that I am not, vpon what occasiõ shulde you thinke thus of me?

Phil. Vpon no cuyl that I do knowe of you, maister doctour, but I speke as one wyshyng that you shulde not bee ledde away frome the truth

ruthe, for promotions sake, as many doctors doo nowe adayes.

D. Sauer. I haue heard your argumẽtacions hitherto, and me thinketh that a great many of thold auncient writers be agaynste you, in that you do not allowe the churche of Rome, neither the supremacie. For S. Cipriane (whyche is an olde auncient writer) doth allow the bishop of Rome, to be the supreme head of the churche.

Phil. That I am sure of, he dothe not. For he writynge vnto Cornelius then bysshop of Rome, calleth hym but his companyon and felowe bysshoppe: neyther attributed to hym the name eyther of Pope, or elles of any other vsurped termes, whyche nowe be ascribed to the bysshop of Rome, to the settynge forthe of his dignitie.

Sauer. You can not be hable to shewe, that S. Ciprian calleth Cornelius his felow bishop.

Phil. I wyll wager with you that I am hable to make, that I can shew it you in Cyprian, as I haue sayde.

Sauer. I will lay non other wager with you, but booke for booke, it is not so.

Phil. I agree therto, and I pray you one of my lordes chaplaynes, to fet vs Cyprian hyther, for the tryall hereof. And with that one of them went to my lordes study, and brought forth Cyprian. And by and by he turned to the fyrst boke of his epistles, the. xiii. epistle,

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and there woulde haue ſemed to haue gathe-
red a ſtronge argument for the ſupremacy of
the biſhop of Rome, becauſe he ſayth, It goth
not well with the church, when the high prieſt
is not obeyed, whiche ſupplieth the deede of
Chriſte, after Goddes worde, and the conſent
of his felowe byſhops, and the agreement of
the people.

Sauer. How can you auoyde this place
which maketh ſo playnly for the B. of
Rome his ſupremacie?

Philpot.

It maketh not ſo playne (M. Doc-
tour) on youre ſyde, as you gather: as
by and by I wil geue you to vnderſtād.
But firſt I chalenge the wager which
we made, that your boke is mine. For
here you may ſe, that he calleth Corne-
lius his felowbiſhop, as he doth alſo in
other places. And nowe for the vnder-
ſtanding of that place, you do miſcon-
true it to make the high prieſt only for
the B. of Rome, and otherwyſe then it
was in his tyme. For ther wer by Ni-
cene coūſell foure Patriarkes appoin-
ted. The Patriark of Hieruſalem, the
Patriarke of Conſtātinopole, the Pa-
triarke of Alexandria, and the Patri-
arke of Rome: of whych foure the Pa-
triarke of Rome was placed loweſt in
the coūſel, & ſo cōtinued many hūdreth
yeres,

yeres, for the tyme of .7. or .8. generall
coũcels: as I am able to shewe. Ther-
fore S. Cyprią writing to Cornelię pa-
triarke of Rome (whō he calleth his fe-
low bishop) sideth himself offẽded, that
certayn heretikes being iustly excõmu
nicated (as the Nouacias wer) by hym
dyd flee from his diocese (whyche was
their chiefe bishop refusing to be obedi
ent vnto him, and to be reformed, as to
the bishop of Rome, or to the patriark
of Constantinople. And ther wer re-
ceiued in cõmunion of congregation,
in derogation of good order and disci-
pline in the church, and to the maintai
nyng of heresies & scismes. And that
heresies did spring vp & scismes daily a
rise hereof, that obediẽce is not geuen
to the priest of God, nor ones consider-
red to be in the church: for the time the
priestе, and for the tyme, the Iudge, in
Christs stede (as in the decree of the Ni
cen coũcel was apointed) not mening
the B. of Rome only, but euery patri-
ark in his precinct, who had euery one
of them a college or cathedrall church
of lerned priestes, in herying of whom
by a conuocation of al his felowe bi-
shops, with the consent of the people,
all heresies wer determined by ỹ word

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of God. And this is the meanynge of S. Cipzian.

Dsauer. You take it so, but it semeth to me otherwyse.

Phil. Upon what grounde it shulde seme otherwyse vnto you, I knowe not: but this meanyng, whyche I haue declared, the generall councels. vii. or. viii. one after an other, confirmed it so to be, whiche dydde not alowe one supzeme head onely.

Pen. Ther were not so many generall councelles, but foure only alowed.

Phil. That is not so Master Pendleton. Although there be foure specially allowed, for the confyrmation of the Trinitie, but beside these foure, there were manye other generall councelles, as you maye learne by many wryters.

A chaplayn. Did not Chzist buylde hys churche vpon Peter? S. Cypzian sayeth so.

Phil. S. Cypzian De simplicitate prælatorũ. declareth, in what respecte he so sayd. In persona vnius, he is. Dedit Dominus omnibus claues, vt omnium vnitatem denunciaret, God gaue in persone of one man, to all the keyes, that he might signifie the vnitie of all men. And also S. Austen saieth in the. 10. homilie of saint Iohn.

Si in Petro non esset ecclesiæ misterium, non ei diceret Dominus, tibi dabo claues, si autem hoc Petro dictum est, non habet ecclesia, si autem ecclesia habet, quando claues accepit, ecclesiam

eleſiam totam deſignauit, If in Peter hadde not ben the myſtery of the churche, ths lorde had not ſayde vnto hym: I wylle geue vnto thee the keyes. For yt that were ſayde vnto Peter: the church hath them not, yt the churche haue them, whan Peter receyued theym, he ſignifieth the whole churche. As alſo ſaint Jerome, a prieſt of Rome, writyng to Nepotian ſayth, that all churches do leane to their owne paſtours, where he ſpeaketh of the Eccleſiaſticall Hierarchie or regiment, where he maketh no mencion of the byſſhop of Rome. And Ad Euagium, he ſayth, That where ſo euer a byſhop be, whether it be at Rome, or at Euagie, or at Rhegium, he is of one power, and of one iuriſdiction.

Sauer. S Hierom De celeſti hierarchia? It was Dioniſius you meane.

Phil. I ſay not, that Hierome wrote any boke ſo entitled, but I ſaye, that in the Epiſtle by me alledged, he maketh mencion of the Eccleſiaſticall regiment.

Sauer. I wõder you will ſtand ſtedfaſt in your errour to your owne deſtructiõ

Phil. I am ſure, we are in no errour by the promyſe of Chriſt, made to the faythful ones, which is, That he wyll gyue to his true churche, ſuche a ſpirite of wyſedome, that the aduerſaries therof, ſhuld neuer be hable to reſiſte. And by this I knowe, we are of the truth, for that neyther by reaſonyng, neither by writyng, your ſynagoge of Rome is hable to aunſwere. Where is there one of you all, that euer hath ben able to anſwere any of the godly learned miniſters of Germanye, who

haue disclosed youre counterfayte religion? Whiche of you all (at this daye) is able to answere Caluines institution, whiche is ministet of Geneua?

Sauer. A goodlye minister in deade, of receyt of cutpurses and rūnagate traitours. And of late I can tel you, there is such contention fallen betwene him and his own sectes, that he was fayn to fle the towne, about predestination. I tell you truthe, for I came by Geneua hyther.

Phil. I am sure you blaspheme that godlye man, and that godly churche where he is ministet, as it is your churches condition, whā you can not answere men by learnyng to oppresse them with blaspheimies and false reports. For in the matter of predestination, he is in none other opinion than all the doctours of the churche be, agreyng to the scriptures.

D. Sauer. Wel be able to answere him, if they lust. And I praye you, whiche of you haue answered bysshop Fysshers boke?

Phil. Yes mayster doctour, that boke is answered, and answered agayne, yf you lyste to seeke, what hath ben written agaynste hym.

And after this doctoure Storye came in: to whom I sayd. Master doctor, you haue done me great iniury, and without law haue straitly imprysoned me, more lyke a dogge than a man. And besydes this you haue not kepte promyse with me. For you promysed, that I

shulde

shold be iudged the nexte day after.

Stor. I am come now to kepe promise wyth the. Was there euer suche a fantasticall man as thys ys? Naye he ys no man, he ys a beaste, Yea these heretykes be worse then brute beastes: for they wyll (vpon a vayne singularitye) take vpon them to be wyser then all men, beynge in dede very fooles and asseheades, not hable to mayntayne that whyche of an arrogaunte obstinacye they do stande in.

Phtipot. Mayster doctour, I am content to abyde your raylyng iudgement of me nowe: saye what you wil, I am content. For I am vnder your feete, to be troden on, as you list. God forgiue it you, yet am I no heretike, neither you, nor any other shall be able to proue that I holde any tote agaynst the woorde of God, otherwyse thenne a Christian manne oughte.

Sotry. The woorde of God? forsothe the woorde of God. Yt is but a follye to reason wyth these heretykes, for they are incurable & desperate. But as I maye reason wyth the, not that I haue anye hope to wynne thee, whome wilt thou appoynte to bee iudge of the woorde, wherto thou standest?

Phil. Verily the woorde it selfe.

Storie. Do you not see the ignorauncye of thys beastlye heretyke? he wyllethe

the woꝛd to be Judge of the woꝛd, can the woꝛd speake?

Phil. If I can not pꝛoue that whiche I haue sayde by good auctoꝛitie, I wyll bee contente to be counted an heretike, and an ignoꝛaunt person, and further what you please.

Story. Let vs heare, what wyse auctoritie thou canst bꝛinge in.

Phil. It is the sayeng of Chꝛist, in S. Iohn Verbū quod locutus sum iudicabit in nouissimo die, The woꝛde whiche I haue spoken, sayth Chꝛiste shall iudge in the laste daye. If the woꝛde shall iudge in the laste day, muche moꝛe it ought to iudge our doynges nowe And I am sure, I haue my iudge on my syde who shall absolue and iustifie me in an other woꝛlde, howe soeuer nowe it shall please you by auctoꝛitie, vnrighteously to iudge of me and others: sure I am in an other woꝛlde, to iudge you.

Story. What? you purpose to be a stinkinge martyr, and to syt in Judgemēt with Chꝛist at the laste daye to Judge the twelue tribes of Israell.

Phil. Yea syꝛ, I doubt not therof, hauynge the pꝛomyse of Chꝛist, yt I dye foꝛ ryghtousnes sake, whiche you haue begonne to persecute in me.

Sauer. I tolde you it is but vayne to argue with thys heretike, he is dꝛowned in his heresies, without al learnynge.

Phil. Wyꝛ, I haue bꝛoughte you foꝛ that I haue sayde, good authoꝛitie oute of Goddes boke,

booke, to the whiche you answere nothynge, but go about styl to gyue rashyng iudgemens agaynst me, without any cause.

Stor. I wil com to you by and by, whē the iudge in westminster halle geueth sentence, doth the word geue sentence, or the iudge, tel me?

Phil. Ciuile matters be subiect to ciuile men and they haue authoritie by the worde, to bee iudge of them. But the worde of God is not subiect to mans iudgemēt, but ought to iudge all the wysedom, thoughtes, and doynges of men. And therfore your comparyson disproueth nothyng that I haue sayde, neyther answereth any whyt therto.

Stor. Wilt ỹ not alowe the interpretacion of the church, vpon the scripture?

Phil. Yes, yf it be accordyng to the woorde of the true churche. and thys I saye to you, as I haue sayde heretofore, that yf ye can proue the churche of Rome, wherof ye are, to be the true catholike churche, which I ought to folowe, I wyll be as ready to yelde therto (as long as it can be so proued) as you may desyre me.

Story. What a felowe is this? he wil be leue nothynge but he list hym selfe. Are we not in possession of the church? haue not your forefathers, these many hundreth yeres taken this church for ỹ catholike church, wherof we ar nowe? And if we had none other proofe but this it were sufficiente. For prescriptyon of tyme maketh a good tytle in the lawe.

That all is nothinge but a lye.

Phil. You doo well (mayster doctour) to alledge prescription of many yeares, for it is all that you haue to shewe for your selues. But you must vnderstand Ex diuinis nulla occurrit præscriptio, that prescription hathe no place in matters belongynge to God, as I am able to shewe by the testimonye of many doctours.

Now Story ye shewe your selfe in your Colours

Storie Wel syr, you ar lyke to go after your fathers, Latymer the sophister, & Rydley, who had nothynge to alledge for hym selfe, but that he had learned his heresie of Cranmer: wher I came to hym with a poore bachelar of arte, he trembled as though he had had the palsey, as these heretikes haue alwaies some token of feare, whereby a man may knowe them, as you may see this mans eies doo tremble in his heade. But I despatched them. And I tell the that there hathe bene yet neuer a one burnt, but I haue spokē with him, and haue bene a cause of his despatche.

Phil. You haue the more to aunswere for M. doctor, as you shall fele it in an other worlde, how muche so euer you do nowe tryumph of youre proceedinges.

Story. I tel thee, I wyll neuer be confessed thereof. And bycause I can not nowe tary to speake with my lorde, I pray you one of you, tell my lord, that my

my commyng was to signifye to his lordeshyp, that he muste out of hande ryde this heretike away. And goyng away he saide vnto me: I certifie thee, thou maist thanke none other man for it but me.

Phil. I thanke you therfore wyth al my hart: and God forgeue it you.

Story. What, doest thou thanke me? yf I had thee in my study halfe an houre, I thynke I shoulde make you synge an other songe.

Phil. No maister doctour, I stande vpon to sure a grounde, to be ouerthrowen, by you nowe And thus they departed al away from me, one after an other, vntyl I was left al alone. And afterwards wyth my keper goyng to my colehouse, as I wente, I met with my lorde of London, who spake vnto me gently, as he hath hitherto in wordes, sayenge.

London. Philpot, if ther be any pleasure I may shew you, in my house: I pray you require it, and you shall haue it.

Phil. My lorde, the pleasure that I wyll require of your lordshyp, is to hasten my iudgemente, whiche is committed vnto you, and so dispatche me forth of thys myserable worlde, vnto my eternall rest.

And for all hys fayre speache, I can not attayne hytherto thys fortenyghte space, neyther fyre, nor candell, neyther yet good lodgyng. But it is good for a man to be brought lowe in this worlde, and to bee accounted

amongest the byest, that he maye in tyme of rewarde, receyue exaltation and glory. Therfore prayse bee God, that hath humbled me, and gyuen me grace, with gladnes to be content therwithall.

Let all that loue the truthe saye,
Amen.

The fyfth tragedye.

The sixt examinatió of Iohn Phylpot had before the right honourable lordes, lord Chamberlayne to the kinges maiestie, the Vicount Hereford commonly called lord Ferrers, my lord Ryche, my lorde saynt Iohns, the lord VVindsor, the lord Shandoys Sir Iohn of bridges Lieutenaunt of the tower and twvo other mo vvhose names I knovv not vvith the bishoppe of London, and D. Chadsey, the sixthe of Nouembre. Anno Domini. 1555.

Phil. BEfore that I was called before the lordes, and whyles they were in sittinge downe: the bishoppe of London came aside to me, and whyspred in myn eare willing me to vse my selfe before the lordes of the Quenes maiesties councell prudentely, and to take hede what I sayde. And thus he pretended to gyue me counceile, because he wyshed me to doo well, as I myght nowe do, if I list. And after the lordes and other worshyps

Hyppfull gentylmen of the Quenes maieſties ſeruantes were ſet, my lorde of London placed hymſelfe at the ende of the table, and called me to hym. And by the lordes I was placed at the vpper ende agaynſt hym, where I kneelyng downe, the lordes commaunded me to ſtande vp, and after in this maner the byſhop began to ſpeake.

London. Maiſter Philpot, I haue heretofore bothe priuately my ſelfe and openly before my lordes of the cleargy (mo tymes then once) cauſed you to be talked withal, to reforme you of youre errours, but I haue not found you yet ſo tractable as I would wyſhe. Wherfore nowe I haue deſyred theſe honourable lordes of the temporalte, & of the Quenes maieſties councel, who haue taken paines with me this day (I thāke them therefore) to heare you what you can ſay, that they may be iudges, whether I haue ſought all meanes to doo you good, or no. And I dare be bold to ſay in their behalfe, that if you ſhewe your ſelfe conformable to the queenes maieſties procedynges, you ſhal fynd as much fauour for your delyuerance as you can wiſhe. I ſpeake not this to faune vppon you, but to bryng you home into the church. Nowe let them heare what you haue to ſay.

Phil.

Philpot. My lord, I thanke God of this day, that I haue suche an honourable audience, to declare my mynde before. And I can not but commende your lordships equitie in this behalfe, whiche agreeth with the order of the primatiue churche: which was, If any body had ben suspected of heresy (as I am nowe) he should be called before the Archebyshop or byshop of the diocese where he was suspected in the presence of others his felow byshops, and learned elders, and in the heryng of the laytie: where after the iudgement of Goddes worde declared, and with the assente of other byshoppes and consent of the people, he was condemned for an heretike, or absolued. And the seconde poynt of the good order, I haue founde at your lordeshyps handes alreadye, and nowe haue the thyrde sorte of menne, at whose handes I trust to fynde more ryghteousnes in my cause, then I haue found with my lordes of the clergy, God graunt I may haue at last the iudgement of Goddes worde concernyng the same.

London. Maister Phylpot, I praye you er you go anye further, tell my lordes here plainly, whether you were by me or by my procuremẽt cõmitted to prison or not. And whether I haue shewed you any crueltie, sythen you haue ben committed to my prison.

Phil. If it shall please your lordshyp to geue me leaue to declare forth my matter, I will touche that afterwarde.

Rych. Answere fyrste of all to my lordes

des two questiõs, & then furth procede to the matter. Howe saie you, wer you imprisoned by my lorde or no, can you finde any faulte since, wyth his cruell dling of you?

Philpot. I can not lay to my lords charge the cause of my imprisonment, neyther I maye say that he hath vsed me cruelly. But rather for my parte I myght say, that I haue found more gentilnesse at his lordshyps handes than I dyd at myne owne ordinaries for the tyme I haue bene within his prison, for that he hath called me three or foure tymes to myne answere, the whiche I was not twelue moneth and a halfe before.

Ry. wel now, go furth to your matter

Phil. The matter is, that I am imprisoned for the disputation had by me in the conuocation house, agayn the sacrament of the altar, which matter was not moued principally by me, but by the prolocutour, with the consente of the quenes maiestie, and of the hole house. And the house (beeyng a membre of the parliament house) oughte to bee a place of free speche for all men of the house, by the auncient and laudable custome of this realme. Wherfore I thinke my self to haue susteyned hitherto great iniury, for speakyng my conscience freely in suche place as I myght lawfully doo it. And I desyre youre honourable lordeshyps iudgementes, which be of the parliament house, whether I of right oughte to be empeched therfore, and sustayn the ieste of my lyuyng, as I haue done, and moreouer of my lyfe, as it is sought.

Riche.

Ryche. You ar deceaued herein, for the conuocation house is no parte of the parliament house.

Phil. My lord I haue alwayes vnderstanded the contrary, by such as are more expert men in thinges of this realme then I. And again the tytle of euery acte leadethe me to thynke otherwyse, whyche alledgeth the agreement of the spiritualtie and temporaltie assembled together.

Ryche. Yea that is ment of the spirituall lordes of the vpper house.

Wynsor. In dede the cõuocation house is called togither by one writte of the sommons of the parliament of an old custome: notwithstandyng that house is no parte of the parliament house.

Phil. My lordes I muste be contented to abyde your iudgementes in this behalfe.

Ryche. We haue tolde you the truthe. Mary yet we wold not, that you shuld be troubled for any thynge, that there was spoken, so that you hauyng spokē amisse, dos declare now, that you are sory therfore.

London. My lordes, he hath spokē there manyfest heresy, yea and there stoutely mayntayned the same, againste the blessed sacramente of the aultar, And with that he put of his cappe, that all the Lordes might reuerence and vayle their bonettes at that ydoll, as they dyd, And woulde not

wallo

allowe the reall presence of the bodye and bloudde of Christe in the same. Yet my lords, God forbid that I shuld go about to shewe hym extremitie, for so doyng, in case he wyl repent and revoke his wicked sayengs. And in faith if he wyll so do, with your lordeshyps consent, he shalbe released by and by. Mary yf he wyll not, he shall loke for ȳ extremitie of the law, and that shortly Chamber. My lord of London speaketh reasonably vnto you, take it whiles it is offered you.

Ryche. How say you? wyl you acknowlage the real presence of the bloud and body of Christe, as all the lerned men in this realme doo in the masse, and as I doo, and wyll beleue as longe as I lyue, I doo protest it.

Phil. My lorde, I doo acknowlage in the sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ such a presence, as the worde of God dothe alowe and teache me,

Ryche. That shall be none otherwyse, then you lyste.

London. A sacrament is the signe of a holy thyng: So that there is bothe the sygne, whiche is the accidentes (as the whitenes, roundnes, & shape of bread) and there is also the thynge it selfe, as very

very Chriſte both God and man. But theſe heretykes will haue the ſacramẽtes to be but bare ſignes. How ſay you declare vnto my lordes here, whether you do alowe the thinge it ſelf in the ſacramente or no?

Phil. I doo confeſſe the ſacrament bothe to be a ſigne and the thyng it ſelfe, when it is duely miniſtred after the inſtitution of Chriſte.

London. You may ſee, howe he goeth about the buſhe (as he hath done before) with my lordes of the clergy, and dare not vtter his mynde playnly.

Rych. Shewe vs what maner of preſence you alowe in the ſacrament?

Phil. Yf it ſhall pleaſe you my lorde of London, to geue my leaue, to procede orderly therevnto: and to lette me declare my mynde without interrupcion, I wyll throughly open my mynde therin.

L. Shand. I praye you my lord, let him ſpeake his mynde.

Phil. My lordes, that I haue not playnly declared my iudgement vnto you, is this becauſe I can not ſpeake hereof, wythoute the daunger of my lyfe.

Rych. Ther is none of vs here, that ſeketh thy lyfe, or meane to take anye auauntage of that thou ſhalte ſpeake.

Phil. Although I miſtruſt not your honourable lordſhippes, that be of the temporalitie yet here is one that ſitteth againſt me, poin-

ting

ting to my lorde of London, that will lay it to my charge, euen to the death. Notwithstandynge seynge your honours do require me to declare my mynde of the presence of Christe in the sacrament, that ye maye perceiue, that I am not a shamed of the Gospel of Chryste, neyther do mayntayne any opinion withoute probable and sufficient autorite of the scripture, I will shewe frankelye my mynde, wythout al colour, what so euer shall ensue vnto me therfore, so that my lorde of London wyll not let me to vtter my mynde.

Ryche. My lorde permitte him to saye what he can, seynge he is wyllynge to shewe his mynde.

London. I am cõtent my lordes, let him saye what he can, I will heare him.

Phil. That which I do entend to speake vnto you right honourable lordes I do protestle here, first before God and his Angels, that I speake it not, neyther of vayne glorye, neyther of singularitye, neyther of wylfull stubburnes, but truelye vpon a good conscience, grounded on goddes word, against the which I dare not do, for feare of dampnacion, which wyll folowe that is done contrary to knowledge. Neyther do I disagree to the procedinges of this realm in religion, for that I loue not the Quene, whom I loue from the bottom of my hart, but because I ought to loue and feare God in his worde, more then man in his lawes. Though I stande (as I seme to doo) in this consideration, and for none other as God I call to witnesse: There bee two thinges principallye, by the whiche the

By vvhat thinges the cleargie deceaueth the hole Realme.

the cleargy at this day doth deceyue the holle realme. That is, the sacrament of the bodye and bloud of Christe, and the name of the catholike church, the which both they do vsurpe hauyng in dede none of them bothe. And as touchyng their sacramēt which they terme of the Altar, I say now, as I sayd in the conuocation house, that it is not the sacramente of Christ, neyther in the same is there any maner of Christes presence. Wherfore they deceiue the Quenes maiestie, & you of the nobilitie of this realme, in makyng you to beleue that to be a sacrament, whiche is none, and cause you to committe manyfest ydolatrye, in worshyppyng that for God, which is no god. And in testimony of this to be true, beside manyfest proofe, whyche I am able to make to the quenes maiestie, and to all you of her nobilitie, I wyll yelde my lyfe. The whyche to doo, yf it were not vpon a sure grounde, it were to my vtter damnation. And where they take on thē the name of ỹ catholike Churche, wherby they blynde many folkes eyes, they ar nothyng so: callynge you from the true religion, which was reueled and taught in kyng Edwardes tyme, vnto vayne superstition. And this I wyl say for the tryall hereof, that yf they can proue theim selues to bee the catholyke churche (as they shal neuer be able to doo, I wyll neuer be againste their doynges, but reuoke al that I haue sayde. And I shall desyre you (my lordes) to be meane for me to the Quenes maiestye, that I maye be brought to the iuste triall hereof. Yea I wyll not refuse to stande againste tenne of the best of them in this realme. And yf they be able

to

to proue that otherwyse then I haue sayd, either by wrytynge or by reasonynge with good and lawfull authoritie, I wyll here promise to recante what soeuer I haue sayde, and to consent to them in all poyntes. And in the declaration of these thynges more at large, whiche nowe I wryte in summe, the byshop of London eftsoones would haue interrupte me, but the lordes procured me libertie to take out my tale, to the greate grefe of my lorde byshop of London, as it appeated by his dumpes he was in.

London. It hath ben tolde me before, that you loue to make a long tale.

Ryche. All heretikes do boast of the spiryte of God. And euery one wold haue a churche by him self, as Joan of Kent and the Anabaptistes. I had my selfe Joan of Kente a seuen nyghte in my house, after the writte was out for her to be burnte, where my lorde of Canterburye and byshoppe Ridleye resorted almoste dayelye vnto her, but she was so byghe in the spyryte, that they could do nothing with her for all their lernynge. But she went wilfully vnto the fier was burnt, and so do younow.

Philpot. As for Joane of Kente, she was a vayne woman, I knew her well, and an heretike in dede, well worthy to be burnt, bycause she stode agaynst one of the manifest articles of our fayth, contrarye to the scripture. And suche vayne spirites be soone knowen from

the true ſpirite of God and his churche, for that the ſame abydethe within the ymyttes of Goddes woorde, and wyll not go out of the ſame, neyther ſtubbornely mayntayne any thyng contrary to the worde, as I haue Goddes woorde thoroughely on my ſyde, to ſhewe for that I ſtande in.

London. I praye you, howe wyll you ioyne me theſe twoo ſcryptures together, Pater maior me eſt, Et pater & ego vnũ ſumus: I muſte interprete the ſame, becauſe my lordes here vnderſtande no latine: that is to ſaye: The father is greatter then I: and I and the father are one. But I crye you mercye my lordes, I haue myſpoken, in ſayenge you vnderſtande no latin: for the moſt parte of you vnderſtand latine as wel as I. But I ſpake in conſideration of my lord Shandois and maiſter Bridges his brother, whom I take to be no greate latine men. Nowe ſhewe you your counnyng, and ioyne theſe two ſcriptures by the worde if you can.

Phil. yes that I can ryghte well. For we muſt vnderſtand, that in Chriſt there be two natures, the diuinitie and humanitie. And in reſpect of his humanitie, it is ſpokē of Chriſt the father is greater then I. But in reſpecte of his deitie, he ſayd agayne, the father and I be one.

London. But what ſcripture haue you?

you?

Phil. Yes I haue sufficiente scripture for the proofe of that I haue sayd. For the firste it is written of Christ in the psalmes. Diminuisti eum paulominus ab angelis, Thou hast made hym a lytell lesser than angels. It is the fiftene psalme, begynnyng Celi enarrant. And there I myscreckened, wherewithall my lorde tooke me.

London. It is in Domine dominus noster, ye maye se my lordes, howe well this man is vsed to say his matyns.

Phil. Though I say not matyns in suche order as your lordshyp meaneth, yet I remember of olde, that Domine Dominus noster, & Celi enarrant, be not farre asunder. And all be it I mysnamed the psalme, it is no preiudice to the truthe of that I haue proued.

London. What saye you then to the seconde scripture? how couple you that by the worde to the other?

Philpot. The text it selfe declareth, that notwithstandyng Christe dyd abase hym selfe in our humain nature, yet is he styll one in deitie with the father. And this S. Paule to the Hebrues bothe more at large setteth forthe. And as I haue by thescriptures ioyned these two scriptures togyther, so am I able to doo in all other articles of fayth, which we ought to beleue, by the manyfest worde of god to expounde them.

London. Howe can that be, seynge S. Paule saith, that the letter killeth, but

it is the ſpirite that geueth lyfe.

Philpot. Saint Paule meaneth not, that the woꝛde of God wꝛitten in it ſelfe, kylleth, whiche ys the woꝛde of lyfe, and the faythfull teſtimony of the Loꝛde. But that the woꝛde is vnpꝛofytable, and kylleth hym that is voyde of the ſpirite of God, although he be the wiſeſt man of the woꝛlde. And therfoꝛe Sainct Paule ſayde, That the goſpell to ſome was a ſauour of lyfe vnto lyfe, and to ſome other, a ſauour of death vnto deathe. Alſo an exampie hereof we haue in the ſixth of John, who hearyng the wooꝛde of God without the ſpirite were offended therby. Wherfoꝛe Chriſte ſayde, The fleſhe pꝛofyteth nothyng, it is the ſpirite that quickeneth.

London. What? do you vnderſtand that of S. Paule and of S. John ſo?

Phil. Yt is not myne owne interpꝛetacion, it is agreable to the woꝛde in other places. And I haue learned the ſame of auncient fathers interpꝛetinge it lykewyſe. And to the Coꝛinthians it is wꝛytten. Animalis homo non percipit ea quæ ſunt ſpiritus Dei: Spiritualis diiudicat omnia. The naturall man perceyueth not the thinges that be of the ſpirite of God: But the ſpirituall man which is indued with the ſpirite, iudgeth al thynges.

London. You ſe my loꝛdes, that this mã will haue but his owne mynd, and wil wilfully caſt away him ſelfe. I am ſoꝛye foꝛ hym.

Phil. The woꝛdes that I haue ſpoken, be not of myne, but of the goſpell, wheron I ought

to

to ſtande. And yf you, my lorde of London, can bryng better authoritie for the faythe you woulde drawe me vnto, than that whiche I ſtande vpon, I wyll gladly heare the ſame, by you, or by any other in this realme.

VVherfore I kneelyng doune, beſought the lordes to be good vnto me, a poore gentilman that vvold fayn lyue in the vvorld if I might, and to teſtify as you haue herd me to ſay this day, that yf any mā can approue that I ought to be of any other maner of faithe, than that vvhiche I novve am, and can proue the ſame ſufficiently, I vvill be neither vvylfull, neither deſperate, as my lord of London vvold make you beleue me to be.

Ryche. What countreiman be you? ar you of the Philpots of Hampſhere?

Phil. Yea my lorde, I was ſyr Peter Philpots ſonne of Hampſhire.

Ryche. Ye is my nere kinſeman, wherfore I am the more ſorye for hym.

Phil. I thanke your lordeſhyp, that it pleaſeth you to chalenge kynrede of a poore pryſoner.

Riche. In faith I would go a hundreth miles on my bare fete, to do you good.

Chamber. Ye maye do well ynoughe yf he liſt.

S. Iohn. Maiſter Phylpot you are my countreiman and I wolde be glad you ſhould do well.

Ryche. You ſayde euen nowe that you woulde deſyre to mayntayne your be-

lese, before tenne of the best of this realme. You dyd not welle to compare with the nobilitye of the realme. But what yf you haue tenne of the beste of the realme to heare you, wyll you be tryed by them?

Phil. My lorde, your lordshyp mystaketh me, to thynke that I chalenge ten of the beste of the nobilitie in this realme, it was no parte of my mynde. But I ment of the best lerned on the contrary syde.

Ryche. Well I take your meanynge. What if meanes be made to the Quenes maiestie, that you shall haue your requeste? Will you be iudged by them?

Philpot. My lorde, it is not mete that a man shoulde be iudged by his aduersaryes.

Ryche. By whom then woulde you be iudged?

Phil. I wyll make your honours iudges that shalbe hearers of vs.

Rych. I dare bee bolde to procure for you of the Quenes maiestie, that you shall haue ten learned men to reason with you, and twentye or forty of the Nobilitie to heare, so you wylle promise to abide their iudgement. Howe saie you, wyll you promyse here afore my lordes so to doo?

Phil. I wil be contented to be iudged by thē.

Ryche. Yea, but you will not promise to agree to their iudgement.

Phil.

Phil. There be causes, why I may not so do, onles I were sure they wouldе iudge accor-ding to the worde of God.

Ryche. O, I perceyue you wyll haue no man iudge but your self, and thinke youre selfe wyser then all the learned men of this realme.

Phil. My lorde, I seke not to be myne owne iudge: but am content to be iudged by other, so that the order of iudgement in matters of religion bee kepte: that was in the primatiue Churche, whyche is, fyrste that Goddes wyll by his woorde was sought, and therun-to bothe the spiritualtie and temporaltie ga-thered togyther, gaue their consentes and iudgemente. And suche kynde of iudgement I will standе to.

London. My lordes, he would make you beleue, that he wer profoundly sene in auncient writers, of the iudgementes of the primatiue church, and ther was neuer no suche maner of iudgemente vsed as he nowe talketh of.

Phil. In the epistles of S. Cipryan I am ha-bie to shewe it you.

London. A, I tell you, there is no suche thynge, fette me Cyprian hyther.

Phil. You shall fynde it otherwyse, when the booke commeth. And doctour Chadsey his chaplayne (whome he appoynted to fette his booke) whyspered the bysshop in his eare, and fette not the boke, by lykelihode that he shuld haue sustained ꝧ reproch therof. yf ꝧ boke had

bene fette. Well my lorde (quod I) maister doctour knoweth it is so, or els he would haue fette the booke or this.

Ryche. You woulde haue none other iudge (I see) but the worde.

Phil. Yeas my lorde, I wyll be tryed by the worde, and by suche as wyll iudge accordyng to the word. As for an example, If there wer a controuersy betwyxt your lordeshyp and an other vpon the wordes of a statute, must not the woordes of the statute, iudge and determyne the controuersy?

Rych. No mary, the iudges of the law maye determyne the meaning therof.

London. He hathe brought as good example against him selfe, as cã be. And here the bishoppe thought he had good handefast against me: and therfore enlarged it with many wordes to the iudgement of the churche.

The lordes. He hath ouerthrowen hym selfe by his owne argument.

Phil. My lordes, it semeth to your honours, that you haue great aduantage of me, by the example I brought in, to expresse myne ause, but if it bee pondered throughely, it maketh wholly with me, and nothyng agaynst me, as my lorde of London hathe pretended. For I wil aske of my lord Rych here, whom I know to haue good knowledge in the lawes and statutes of this Realme. Albeit a iudge maye determe the meaning of a statute agreable to the wordes, whether the same may iudge a me

nynge

ning contrary to the expresse wordes or no?

Ryche. He can not so do.

Philpot. Euen so I say, that no man ought to iudge the word of God to haue a meanyng contrary to the expresse words therof, as this false churche of Rome doth in many thyngs. And with this the lordes seemed to be satisfied and made no further replication herein.

Rich. I maruel then why you do denye the expresse wordes of Christ in the sacramēt, sayeng, this is my body, & yet you will not sticke to saye, it is not hys body. Is not God omnipotent? And is not he hable aswell by his omnipotēcy to make it his body as he was to make man flesche of a pece of claye? did not he say, this is my body, whiche shalbe betrayed for you? and was not his verye body betrayed for vs? therfore it must nedes be his body.

London. My lorde Riche you haue saide wonderful wel and lernedly. But you myghte haue begon wyth hym before also in the sixt of John, where Christe promised to giue his body in the sacrament of the altare sayeng: panis quem ego dabo caro mea est, The breade whiche I wyll gyue, is my flesshe. Howe can you answere to that?

Phil. If it please you to geue me leaue to answere firste my lorde Ryche, I will also aunswere the obiection.

Rych.

Riche. Answere my lorde of London fyrst, and after come to me.

Philpot. My lorde of London may be soone answered, that the sayeng of S. John is, that the humanitie of Christe whiche he tooke on hym for the redemption of man is the breade of lyfe, wherby our bodyes and soules be susteyned to eternall lyfe, of the whiche the sacramentall bread is a lyuely representation and an effectuall cohabitation, to all suche as beleue on his passion, and as Christe sayth in the same syxte of John: I am the bread that came from heauen: but yet he is not materiall neyther naturall breade. Lykewyse the breade is his flesche not naturall or substanciall, but by signification, and by grace in a sacrament. And now to my lorde Ryches argumente. I do not deny the expresse wordes of Christ in the sacrament, This is my body. But I deny that they are naturally and corporally to be taken, but sacramentally and spiritually, accordynge to the expresse declaracion of Christe, sayinge, that the wordes of the sacrament, whiche the Capernaites toke carnally (as the papistes now do) ought to be taken spiritually and not carnally, as they falsely ymagine, not wayeng what interpretation Christe hathe made in this behalfe. Neyther folowe the institution of Christ, neither the vse of the Apostles and of the primatiue churrche, who neuer taught neyther declared no suche carnall maner of presence, as is nowe exacted of vs violently, wythoute any grounde of scripture or antiquitie, who vsed to put out of the churche all such as did not receaue the sacramente wyth the reste: and

and also to burne that whyche was left after the receyuyng, as by the Canon of the Apostles, and by the decree of the councel of Antioche.

London No that is not so, they were only Cathecumeni, whyche went out of the churche at the celebration of the communion, and none other.

Phil. It was not only of suche as were nouices in faith, but all others ẏ did not receiue.

London. What saye you to the omnipotencye of God: is not he hable to performe that which he spake, as my lord Ryche hath very well sayde. I tell the, that God by hys omnipotency maye make hym selfe to be this carpet, yf he will.

Phil. As concernynge the omnipotencye of God, I say that God is hable to doo (as the prophete Dauid sayth) what so euer he wil-leth. But he wylleth nothyng that is not agreable to his worde, as that is blasphemye whiche my lorde of London hath spoken, that God may become a carpette. For as I haue learned of auncient writers: Non potest deus facere quæ sunt naturæ suæ contraria. That is, God can not doo that whiche is contrary to his nature, as it is contrary to the nature of God, to be a carpet. A carpet is a creature and God is the creator, and the creatour can not bee the creature, wherefore onelesse you can declare by the woorde, that Christe is otherwyse presente with vs. then spiritually, and sacramentally by grace, as he hathe

taugh-

taught vs: you pretende the omnipotency of god in vayne.

London. Why, wyll you not saye that Christe is really presente in the sacrament? or do you denye it?

Phil. I deny not that Christ is really in the sacrament, to the receauer therof, accordyng to Christes institution.

London. What meane you by reallye present?

Philpot. I meane by really present, present in deede.

London. Is God really presente euerye where?

Phil. He is so.

London. Howe proue you that?

Phil. The prophete Esaye saythe, that God fylleth all places, and where soeuer be two or three gathered togyther in Christes name, there is he in the myddest of them.

London. What? his humanitie?

Phil. No my lorde, I meane the deitie, accordyng to that you demaunded.

Rich. My lorde of London, I pray you letmaster doctor Chedsey reason with hym, and let vs see howe he can answer hym: for I tell thee he is a lerned man in deede, & one that I do credite before a great mainy of you, whose doctrin the Quenes maiestie, and the hole realme dothe wel allowe, therfore heare hym.

London. My lordes, I pray you, will it please

please you to drynke. You haue talked a great whyle, and much talke is tyrstye. I wyll leaue maister doctour and hym resonyng togyther a while, with your leaue, & will come to you by and by agayne. They went (as I suppose) to make rome for more drynke: after the lordes had dronke.

Ryche. My lorde Ryche sayde to the lordes, I praye you lette the poore man drynke, for he is thirsty. And with that he called for a cuppe of drynke, and gaue it me, and I dranke before theim all: God requyte it hym, for I was a thyrste in dede Afterwardes doctour Chadsey began in this wise, making a great processe, of the which, this is the effecte.

D. Chadsey. Maister Phylpot fyndeth faulte with the conuocation house, before your lordshyps, that he hath layen this long in prison, & that he had there a dosyn argumentes, wherof he could not be suffrid to prosecute one through lye, whiche is not so. For he had leaue to saye what he could, and was answered to asmuch as he was able to bring and when he had nothyng elles to say, he fell to weppynge. I was there presente, and can testifye thereof, albeit there

Note Chadseys shameles lye.

chere is a boke abrode of the reporte of the disputacion to the contrary, in the which there is neuer a true worde, And where as you requyre to be satisfyed of the sacramēt, I will shew you the truety thereof, bothe by the scryptures, and by the doctors.

Phil. It is a shrewd lykelyhode, that you wyl cōclude with any truth, sence you haue begon with so manyfest vntruthes, as to say, that I was answered, whyles I had any thynge to say: and that I wepte for lacke of matter to say. And that the booke of the reporte of the disputation is nothyng true. God be praised there were a good meyny of noble men, gentylmen, and worshypfull men, that heard and sawe the doynges therof, whiche can testifye that you here haue made an vntruste reporte, before these honourable lordes. And that I wepte, was not for lacke of matter, as you doo sclaunder me: for I thanke God, I haue more matter than the best of you all shal euer be able to answere, as lytteli learnyng as I haue: but my wepyng was, as Christes was vpon Hierusalem, seyng the destruction that shoulde fall vpon her. And I forseyeng than the destruction whiche you, through violence and vnrighteousnes, whiche you there declared, woulde worke agaynste the true churche of Christ, and his faythfull membres, as this day beareth wytnesse, I was compelled to wepe in remembraunce of that, whiche I with infinite mo haue felte and shall feele. At these wordes I dyd not then speake out, beyng

yng interrupted by my lorde Ryche, sayenge that I shuld suffer hym to procede out in his matter, and afterwardes I should haue leysure to answere hym in euery article. But he promised more than he coulde performe, as the ende dyd weil declare. For he had not the consente of the spiritualtie to his promyse, whyche nowe rule the rost. God shorten their cruell dayes, for his electes sake. And therefore I adde this, I hadde pourposed, to haue spoken yf then I myght haue bene suffered, least any that perfectely knowe not the thynges done in the conuocation house, and nowe layde to my charge, vnanswered by me, might recken doctour Chadseis sayinges to be true and as concernyng the boke of the reporte of the disputations, I wrote the same. And it is trus in euery argument, as mayster deane of Rochester, and maister Cheyny Archedeacon of Harforde (yet beyng alyue, and within this realme can testifye.

Chad. You haue of scriptures the foure euangelistes for the probation of chrisses real presence to be in the sacramēt after the woordes of consecration, wyth S. Paule to the Corinthians. Whichal say, Hoc est corpus meū, this is my bodye, they do not as you woulde haue me to beleue, this is not the body But speciallye the. 6. of S. John proueth ȳ same moste manifestlye, where Chryste, promised to geue hys body, which he performeth in his laste supper

as

as it appereth by these woordes, Panis quem ego dabo, caro mea est, quam ego dabo pro mundi vita, The bread which I will geue, is my flesshe, which I wyll gyue for the lyfe of the worlde.

Phil. My lorde Ryche, wyth your leaue, I must nedes interrupt hym a lytle, because he speaketh open blasphemye, against the death of Christe, for if that promise broughte in by S. Paule was performed by Christe in hys last supper, then neded he not to haue dyed after he had geuen the sacrament.

Ryche. Let mayster doctoure make an end of his arguments, and afterward obiect to hym agayne what you can.

Chedsey. You muste note that there is twise dabo in this sayeng of S. John, and the fyrste is referred to the sacrament of the aultar, and the seconde to the sacrifice vpon the crosse, and besydes these manyfest scriptures, there be many auncient doctours prouyng the same, as Ignatius, Ireneus, and S. Cyprian, whose authorities he recited at large which I do omit, bycause I was not permitted to answere ỹ same.

Ryche. Nowe answere, and obiecte to hym what you can, and you shall be heard.

Philpot. My lorde the chiefeste ground wher vpon he wyth the rest of hys syde do ground them selues against vs, be these woordes.

this

This is my body, with a false pretence of the omnipotency of God. And before I will come to the particular answeres of al that he hath alledged, for that your lordshyps may the better vnderstand me, what I meane, and wher vpon I stande, I will require mayster Doctour to answere me one question. But fyrste of all, I do protest to your honours, that I thynke as reuerently of the sacrament, as a christen man ought to do, and that I acknowlage the sacrament of the body and bloude of Christe ministred after Christes institution to be one of the greatest treasures and comfortes that he lefte vs on the earthe. And contrarywyse, it is moste discomforte and abhominable, not beyng ministred as it ought to be, as it is vsed nowe adayes. And nowe to my question, whiche is this: Whether these wordes onely, Hoc est corpus meum, This is my body, spoken by a preste ouer the bread and wyne, may make the body and bloude of Christ, as you suppose or no?

Chadsey. Staggeringe what he mighte say, at last sayd, that these wordes alone (pronounced by the preest) be sufficiēt to make the breade and the wyne, the very body and bloud of Christ really.

Phil. That is blasphemy to say, and agaynst all the scriptures and doctours, who affirme that the forme and substance in consecration must be obserued, which Christe vsed and did institute, as S. Cyprian sayth, In sacrificio quod Christus est, non nisi Christus sequēdus, In the sacrifice whiche is Christe, onely is Christe to be folowed. And by the lawe it is

forbidden, to adde or take away from Goddes word. And S. Peter sayth, yf any man speak, let hym speake as the worde of God. Wherfore who soeuer sayth, that these woordes only, this is my body, do make a reall presence of Christe without blysse, take, and eate, wherby be thre as substancial poyntes of the sacramente, as this is my body, is: he is highly disceaued. Therfore S. Iustyne sayth, Accedat verbum ad elementum, & fit sacramentum, Let the worde be ioyned to the element, and it becommeth a sacrament: so that if the entier woorde of Christes institution bee not obserued in the ministration of a sacrament, it is no sacramente, as the sacrifices whiche the ten Tribes did offer at Bethel to God, were not acceptable, because they wer not in al poyntes done accordyng to Goddes worde. Wherfore except blessinge be made after the worde, whiche is a dewe thankes geuyng for our redemption in Christ and shewing forth of the Lordes death in suche wyse as the congregation may be edifyed, and also a takynge and eatyng after Christes commaundement as it is not in the masse: This is my bodye, whiche is the latter parte of the sacramente, hath neuer no place, neither can be verifyed. For Christ commaunded as welle, Take ye, and eate ye, as This is my bodye.

Chadsey. Christ sayd, take, eate, this is my body, and not take ye, eate ye.

Philpot. Mo dyd maysster Doctour? Bee not these the woordes of Christ, accipite manducate, and doo not these woordes in the plurall number, signifye, take ye, and eate ye:

and

and not Take thou, eate thou, as you would suppose.

D. Chadsey. I doo graunte it is as you saye.

Phil. Lykewyse of consequency, you maister doctour) must nedes denye, whiche you haue sayde, that these wordes, This is my bodye, beyng onely spoken, be sufficient to make the body and bloud of Christe in the sacrament, as you haue vntruly sayd.

London. Then came in ỳ bishop againe and said, what is that you would haue maister doctor deny?

Phil. My lorde, maister doctour hath affirmed that these wordes this is my body, spoken by the priest, only do make the sacramente.

London. In deede yf maister Bridges shoulde speake these woordes ouer the bread and wyne, they wold be of none effect, but if a priest speake them after a due maner, they are effectuall, and make a reall body.

Philpot. Maister Doctour hathe sayd otherwise.

London. I thynke you mystake hym, for he meaneth of the worde duely pronounced.

Phil. Let hym reuoke that he hath sayd, and than must it nedes followe, that This is my body, hath no place, excepte Sticke, take, and eate, duely go before. And bycause the same do go before, This is my body, in youre sacramẽt of the masse, it is not the sacrament of

Chriſt, neyther hath Chriſt preſente.

Chadſey. If This is my body, onelye do not make the ſacrament, no more doo blyſſe, take, and eate.

Phil. I grant that the one without the other can not make the ſacrament. And it can bee no ſacrement, onles the hole action of Chriſte doth concurre togyther, accordyng to the firſt Inſtitution.

Chadſey Why, then you will not haue it to be the body of Chriſte, onles it be receyued.

Phil. No verily, it is not the verye bodye of Chriſt to none other, but to ſuch as condigne ly receyue the ſame, after his inſtitution.

London. Is not a loafe a loafe, being ſet on ỹ table, though no body eate therof.

Phil. It is not lyke my lorde. For a loafe is a loafe, before it be ſette on the table. But ſo is not the ſacrament a perfect ſacrament, before it be duely miniſtred at the table of the lord.

London. I praye you, what is it in the meane whyle, before it is receyued after the wordes of conſecratiõ ſpoken: anſwer me.

Philpot. It is (my lorde) the ſygne begunne of a holye thynge, and yet no perfecte ſacrament, vntyll it be receiued. For in the ſacrament there be two thynges to be conſidered, the ſygne, and the thynge it ſelfe, whiche is Chriſte, and his hole paſſion, and it is that to none, but to ſuche as worthily receyue the holy ſignes of bread and wyne, accordynge to

Chriſtes

VVynſor. Ther wer neuer none that denyed the wordes of Chriſte as you do, did not he ſay This is my body?

Phil. My lorde, I pray you be not diſceyued. We doo not deny the wordes of Chriſte: but we ſay, theſe wordes be of none effecte, beyng ſpoken otherwyſe than Chriſte dyd inſtitute theym in his laſte ſupper: for an exaumple, Chriſte bydde the churche to baptiſe, in the name of the Father, the ſonne, and the holye ghoſte: If a prieſt ſay thoſe wordes ouer the water, and there be no chylde to bee baptiſed, thoſe wordes onely pronounced, do not make baptyſme. And agayn, baptiſme is only baptiſme to ſuche as be baptiſed, and to none other ſtandyng by.

L. Chamber. I praye you my lorde let me aſke him one queſtion, what kynde of preſence in the ſacramente (duelye miniſtred accordynge to Chryſtes ordinaunce) do you allowe?

Philpot. Than I doo confeſſe the preſence of Chriſte wholly to bee with all the fruites of his paſſion, vnto the worthy receyuer, by the ſpirite of God: and that Chriſte is thereby ioyned to hym, and he to Chriſt.

L. Chamber. I am anſwered.

London. My lordes take no hede of him. For he goeth aboute to deſceyue you. His ſimilitude that he bryngeth in of of baptiſme, is nothinge lyke to the ſacrament of the altare. For yf I ſhould

My lorde is better ſtilled in bely cheare than in Chriſtes ſacramentes.

ſaycto ſyr John Bryges beynge wyth me at ſupper, and hauynge a fat capō, take, eat, this is a fat capon. Although he eat not therof, is it not a capon ſtill: and lykewyſe of a pece of breke, or of a cuppe of wyne, yf I saye: drinke, this is a good cuppe of wine, is it not ſo, be cauſe he drinketh not thereof?

Phil. My lorde, your ſimilitudes be to groſſe for ſo hygh myſteries, as we haue in hande, as yf I were your equal, I could more plainly declare: and there is muche more diſſimilitude betwene common meates and drinkes than ther is betwene baptiſme and the ſacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſte. Lyke muſt be compared to lyke, and ſpiritual thinges with ſpirituall, and not ſpirituall thynges with corporall thinges. And meates and drinkes be of their owne natures good or euyll, and your wordes cōmendyng or diſcommendyng do but declare what they are. But the ſacraments be to be conſidered according to the worde, whych Chriſte ſpake of them, of the which, Take ye, and eate ye, be ſome of the chiefe concurrent to the making of the ſame, without the which there can be no ſacramentes. And therfore in Greke, the ſacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſte is called Cœnonia, a communion. And lykewyſe in the goſpell Chriſte commaunded, ſayenge, Diuidite inter vos, diuide it amonge you.

Chadſey. S. Paul calleth it a communication.

Phil. That doth more expreſſely ſhewe, that there

there muste bee a participation of the sacrament togyther.

London. My lordes, I am sorye I haue troubled you so long wyth thys obstinate man, wyth whome we can do no good, I wil trouble you no lõger now.

And with that, the Lordes rose vp, none of them sayeng any euyl word vnto me, half amased in my iudgement, God worke it good.

Thus endeth the first parte of this tragedie: the seuẽth loke for with ioy.

The. vii. examinatiõ of Iohn Philpot, had the. xix. of Nouember, before the byshops of London and Rochester, the Chaunceler of Lichfeld, D. Chadsey, m. Dee, bacheler of diuinitie.

Syra come hither. Howe chaunce you come no soner? is it wel done of you to make maister chaunceler and me, to tarye for you this houre by the fayth of my body, half an houre before masse, & halfe an houre euen at masse, lokinge for your comming?

vvel sworn my lorde.

Philpot. My lord, it is not vnknowen vnto you, that I am a prysoner, and that the doores be shutte vppon me, and I can not come whan I lyst. But as soone as the doores of my pryson were open, I came immediatly.

London. We sent for thee, to thintent thou shuldest haue come to masse.
Howe saie you, wolde you haue come to masse or no, if the doores had soner been opened?
Philpot. My lorde that is an other maner of question.
London. Lo maister Chancelar I tolde you, we shoulde haue a froward felow of hym, he wil answere directly to nothyng. I haue had hym before both the spirituall lordes, and the tempozall, and thus he fareth styll, yet he reckeneth hym selfe better learned then all the realme. Yea before the tempozall lordes the other day, he was so folisshe to chalenge the best. He woulde make hym selfe learned, and is a very ignorant foole in deede.

You said before he was learned.

Phil. I recken, I aunswered your lordshippe before the lordes playne ynough.
London. Why answeresst thou not directly, whether thou woldest haue gone to masse with vs or no, if thou haddest come in tyme?
Phil. Myne answer shalbe thus, that if your lordship can proue your masse wherunto you woulde haue me to come, to be the true seruice of God, wherunto a Christian oughte to comme: I wille afterwarde comme with a good will.
London. Loke I pray you: the king and the

the queene, and all the nobilitie of the realme, do come to masse, & yet he wil not. By my faith thou art to well handled: thou shalt be worse handled here after, I warrant thee.

Phil. Yf to lye in a byrude colehouse, maye be counted good handlynge, both wythoute fyre and candle: then it maye be sayde, I am well handled. Your lordshippe hathe power to entreate my body, as you list.

London. Thou arte a foole, and a verye ignorant foole. Maysker chauncelar, in good faith I haue handled hym and his felawes with as muche gentlenes as they can deuyse. I let their frendes come vnto them, to releue theim. And wote you what: the other day they had gotte̅ them selues vp into the toppe of the leades, with a meiny of prentises, gasyng abroade, as though they hadde ben at libertie; but I shall cut of your resorte. And as for the prentises, they were as good not to come to you, if I take them.

Phil. My lorde we haue no such resorte to vs as your lordshippe ymagineth, and ther commeth very fewe vnto vs. And of prentises I know not one, neither haue we any leades to walke on ouer our colehouse, that I wote of, wherfore youre lordship hath mistaken youre marke.

London. May nowe you thinke (bicause

my lorde Chaunceler is gone (that we wil burne no mo, yes I warrant the, I wil dispatche you shortly, onles you do recant.

Phil. My lorde, I hadde not thought that I shoulde haue ben alyue now, neyther so rawe as I am, but well rosted vnto ashes.

Chaunce. Cast not your selfe wilfully a waye, maister Philpot. Be content to be ruled by my lord here, and by other learned men of thys realme, and you may do wel ynough.

Phil. My conscience beareth me recorde, that I seeke to please God, and that the loue and feare of God causeth me to do as I doo: And I were of all other creatures moste myserable, yf for myne owne wyll onely, I dydde lose all the cõmodities I myght haue in this lyfe, and afterward to be cast to damnation. But I am sure, it is not my wyll, wheron I stande, but goddes wyll, whiche wyll not suffer me to be cast away, I am sure.

Chaunce. You are not so sure but you may be deceyued.

London. Wel, since thou wilt not be cõformable by no faire meanes, I wil proceede againste thee, Ex officio. And therfore herken here to suche articles as I haue here writtẽ. And I charge the to make answer to them. And with that he red a lybel whiche he had in his hãd of diuers articles. And when he hadde done

done, he bad me answer.

Phil. Youre lybell (my Lorde) conteyneth in summe: two speciall poyntes: The fyrst pretenderh, that I shuld be of your diocesse, and therfore your lordshyp vpon diuers suspectes and infamies of heresy, goyng vppon me, is moued to procede agaynste me by your ordinary office. The whiche fyrst is not true, for that I am not of your lordeshyps diocesse, as the lybell dothe pretende. And the seconde is, that I beyng baptised in the catholyke churche, and in the catholike faith, am gone from them, the whiche is not so. For I am of that catholike faythe and churche, as I was baptised vnto.

London. What, art thou not of my dioces? where are ye nowe, I pray you?

Phil. My lorde, I can not deny, but I am in your colehouse, whiche is in your dioces, yet am I not of your diocesse.

Lond. You wer sent hither vnto me by ỹ Quenes maiesties cõmissioners: and thou art now in my dioces, wherfore I wil procede against ỹ as thin ordinary

Phil. I was brought hyther through violẽce, & therfore my presẽt beng now in your dioces is not ynoughe to abridge me of myne owne ordinaries iurisdiction, neyther maketh it me vnwillyngly subiect to your iurisdiction, sence it commeth by force, and by suche men as had no iust auctoritie so to do, no more thã a sanctuary man being by force brought forth of his place of priuiledge, doth therby lose his priuiledge, but always may chalenge the same where soeuer he be brought.

Chad-

Chadsey. Hath not the Quenes maiesty auctoritie by her commissioners, to remoue youre bodye whether she wyll: And ought you not to obeye herein?

Philpot. I graunt that the Quenes maiestie (of her tuft power) may transpose my bodye, whither it shall please her grace to commaunde the same. But yet by youre lawes, Spiritualia non sunt subiecta imperatoris potestati, Spirituall causes be not subiecte to the temporall power. As for exaumple, you maister doctour, if the Quenes maiestie wold appoint two temporall men to be iudge ouer you in certayne spirituall matters: myght not you alledge the priuiledge of a clerk, and demaunde competent spirituall iudges in your causes?

London. Doth not a man (I praye you) Sortiri forum ratione delicti?

Phil. My lorde, your rule is true in temporall matters. But in spirituall causes it is not so: which be otherwyse priuiledged.

London. What sayst thou then to the seconde article, and to the other?

Phil. My lord, I sayd, that I am not bound to answere the seconde, neyther the rest, onelesse the fyrst be proued.

London. Well, suppose the fyrst may be proued (as it wilbe) what wyll you say then to the seconde, that you are not of the same catholike fayth neither of the same churche nowe, as you were baptised in?

Phil.

Phil. I am of the same catholike fayth, and of the same catholyke churche, whiche is of Christ, the pillour and stablishment of truth.

London. Naye that you are not.

Phil. Yeas that I am.

London. Youre godfathers and godmothers were of an other fayth, then you be nowe.

Phil. I was not baptised neyther into my godfathers faythe, nor my godmothers, but into the faythe and into the church of Christ.

London. Howe knowe you that?

Phil. By the woorde of God, whiche is the touchestone of faythe, and the limittes of the churche.

London. Howe long hath your churche stande, I praye you?

Phil. Euen from the beginnyng, from Christ and from his Apostles, and from theyr immediate successours.

Chanc. He wil proue his churche to be before Christe.

Phil. If I did so, I go not amisse. For ther was a churche before the commyng of Christ which maketh one catholike churche.

Chan. It is so in dede.

Phil. I wyll desyre no better rule, then that whiche is oftentymes brought in of youre syde, to proue bothe my faythe and churche, catholyke: that is, antiquitie, vniuersalitie, and vnitie.

Lond. Do you not se, what a bragging folythe felowe this is? He would seme

to

to be very well sene in the doctors, and he is but a foole. By what D. art thou able to proue thy churche? name him, and thou shalte haue him.

Phil. My lorde, let me haue all your auncient writers with penne and ynke, and paper, and I wyl proue both my fayth and my churche out of euery one of them.

Ye lye my lorde.

Lon. Nay thou shalt not haue. you shall se how ye lieth. S. Cyprian saieth, ther must be one high priest, to the whiche the residue must obeye. And they wyll alowe no head, neither vicar general.

Phil. Saynt Cyprian sayth not, that there shoulde be a vycar generall ouer all. For in his boke De simplicitate prælatorum, I am sure he saith the cõtrary, Vnus episcoparus est cuius pars in solidum a singulis tenetur, Ther is but one byshoprike, whiche is wholly possessed of euery byshop in parte.

Lon. Fet hyther the boke, thou shalte se the manyfest place against the. D. Chedsey brought ẏ boke, & turned to ẏ place in an epistle writtẽ vnto Cornelius thẽ b. of Rome, & recited these wordes in sume, that it wẽt not well w̃ the churche, wher the high priest was not obeied. And so wold haue cõcluded for the confirmatiõ of the bishops saieng.

Phil. M. doctor you mysconstrue the place of S. Cyprian, for he meaneth not ther (by the high priest) the byshop of Rome, but euery pa-

patriarke in his precinct, of whom there were foure apoynted in his tyme. And in writyng vnto Cornelius, he meneth by ꝑ hygh priests hym selfe, whiche was then chief B. of Affrica, whose auctoritie the heretikes began to despise. Wherof he complayneth to Cornelius and sayth: The church can not be well ordered, where the chiefe minister, by order after the iudgement of the scriptures, after the agreement of the people, and the consent of his felowe byshops, he is not obeyed.

London. Hathe not the bishop of Rome alwayes ben supreme head of the churche, and Christes vicar in earth euen from Peter?

Phil. No, that he was not. For by the woorde of God, he hathe no more auctoritie, than the byshop of London hath.

London. Was not Peter heade of the churche? and hath not the byshoppe of Rome whyche is his successoure, the same auctoritie?

Phil. I graunt that the byshop of Rome, as he is the successoure of Peter, hath the same auctoritie as Peter had. But Peter had no more auctoritie, then euery one of the Apostels hadde.

Chaunce. Yes that S. Peter had, for Christ said specially vnto him. Tibi dabo claues regni Cælorum, I wyll geue the the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, the whiche he spake to none other of his disciples syngularly, but to him.

Phil.

Philpot. Saynct Austine answereth otherwyse to the obiection, and sayth, that if in Peter, there had not ben the figure of the churche, the lorde had not sayd vnto hym, To thee I wyll geue the keyes of the kyngedome of heauen The whyche if Peter receiued them not, the churche hath them not. If the churche hath them, than Peter hath them not.

London. What yf I can proue and shewe you oute of the ciuill lawe, that all Christendome ought to folowe the holye catholyke churche of Rome, as there is a speciall tytle therof De catholica fide & Sancta Romana ecclesia.

Phil. That is nothyng materiall, seynge the thynges of God be not subiecte to mans lawes. And diuine matters muste bee ordered by the worde of God, and not of man.

M. Dee. What wyll you saye, yf I can proue, that Christ buylded his church vpon Peter: and that out of S. Cipriane: wil you then beleue that the bishop of Rome ought to be supreme heade of the churche?

Phil. I know what Saint Cyprian writeth in that behalfe. But he meaneth nothynge so as you take it.

M. Dee. S. Cyprian hath these woordes: Quod super Petrum fundata fuit ecclesia tãquam super originẽ vnitatis, That vppon Peter was buylded the churche, as vpon the fyrste beginning

of

Phil. He declareth that in an example: That vnitie must bee in the churche, he grounded on Peter his churche alone, and not vppon men: The whyche he dothe more manifestely declare in the booke De simplicitate prælatorum sayeng, In persona vnius Christus dedit dominus omnibus claues, vt omnium vnitatē denotaret. In the person of one man, God gaue the keyes to all, that he in signification therby declareth the vnitie of all men.

M. Dee. Howe wil you vnderstand S. Cyprian? So: that were good in dede.

Phil. I thynke you can not vnderstande S. Cyprian better, than he doth declare hymselfe.

London. I wil desyre you) maister chaūceler) to take some paynes, w̄ maister doctor Chadsey & maister Dee, aboute hys examination. For I muste goo to the parliamente house: And I wyll desire you to tarie diner with me.

Philpot. Then maister Dee toke agayne his former auctoritie in hande for want of an other. And wolde haue made a farther circumstance, disgressynge frome his purpose. To whom I sayde, he knewe not wheraboute he wente, and here withall he laughed. And I sayd, his diuinite was nothyng but scoffyng.

M. Dee. Yea: then I haue done wyth you. And so went awaye.

Phil. Maister Dee, you are to yonge in diuinitie to teache me in the matters of my faith, though you be lerned in other thynges more

then I, yet in diuinitie I haue bene longer practised then you: for any thyng I can heare of you: therefore be not to hasty, to iudge that you doo not perfectly knowe.

Chaunce. Peter and his successours (frō the beginninge) haue ben allowed for the supreme head of the church: & that by the scriptures. For, that cause christ said vnto him, in S. John thryse, feade my shepe, pasce oues meas.

Philpot. That is none otherwyse to be taken then Ite, predicate, go ye and preache: whyche was spoken to all the apostles, as well as vn to Peter: And that Christ said thryse pasce oues meas, fede my shepe, it signifieth nothing elles, but the earneste studye, that the ministers of God ought to haue in preachyng the worde. God graunte that you of the cleargye would waie your duetie in this behalfe, more then you doo. Is this a iuste interpretation of the scripture, to take pasce oues mea, for to be lorde of the whole worlde? In this meane whyle came in an other bacheler of diuinitie, whyche is a reader of Greke in Oxforde belongyng to the bysshop. And he tooke vppon hym to helpe mayster chauncellour.

Scoler. What wil you say, yf I cā shew you a Greke Author (called Theophilacte) to interprete it so? Will you beleue his interpretacion?

Phil. Theophilacte is a late wryter, and one that was a fauourer of the bysshop of Rome: and therfore not to be credited, synce his interpretation is contrary to the manifest wor-

des

des of the scriptures, & contrary to the determination of many generall councels.

Scolar. In what generall councell was it otherwyse, that the bishop of Rome was not supreme head ouer al?

Philpot. In Nicen cõcell I am sure it was otherwyse. For Athanasius was there the chief B. and president of the councel, and not the bishop of Rome.

Scolar. Nay that is not so.

Phil. Then I perceyue you are better seene in wordes, than in knowlage of thynges. For I wyll gage with you what you wyll, it is so. As you may se in the epitome of the councel.

Scoler. I will fet Eusebius, and shew ỹ contrary, and the boke of generall cõcels. He wente into my lordes closet, & broughte Eusebius, but the generall councels he brought not, saieng (for sayng of his honestie) that he could not come by them. And there would haue defended that it was otherwyse in Eusebius, but was not hable to shewe the same. And so shrank away cõfounded.

Chan. The church of Rome hath ben alwayes takẽ for the hole catholike church: therfore I woulde aduise you, to come into the same with vs. You se all the men of this realme do condemne you. And why will you be so singular?

Phil. I haue sayd, and styll doo saye, that if you can be hable to proue it vnto me, than I will be of the same. But I am sure that the

churche whyche you make so muche of, is a false church, and a synagoge of Sathan. And you with the learned men of this realme doo persecute the true church, and condemne suche as be ryghtwouser then you.

Chaun. Doe you heare (maister doctor) what he sayeth: that the churche of Rome is the deuil.

Nay the deuils daughter.

Chadsey. I wish you did thinke more reuerētly, of the church of Rome. What wil you say, yf I can shewe you out of S. Austyn in his epistle written to Pope Innocentius, that the hole generall cōcel of Cartage dyd allow the churche of Rome to be chefest ouer al other?

Philpot. I am sure you maye shewe no suche thyng. And with that he fette the boke of S. Augustine, and tourned to the Epistle: but he coulde not proue his allegation manifestly, but by coniectures in this wyse.

Chadsey. Here you may se, that the coūcell of Cartage wryting to Innocentius the bishop, calleth the sea of Rome the Apostolike sea. And beside thys they wryte vnto hym, certifyeng hym of thinges done in the councel, for the condemnation of the Donatistes: requiring his approbations in the same. Which they woulde not haue done, yf they had not taken the church of Rome for the supreme heade of others. And more

Thou falsifiest S. Austyne Chadsey.

more ouer you maye see, howe S. Austyne doth proue the churche of Rome to be the catholyke church, by continual succession of the bishoppe vntyl hys tyme, whiche succession we can proue vntyll our days. Therfore by the same reason of S. Austine, we say now, that the churche of Rome is the catholyke churche.

The succession of false bishops, and not of Christes faithe.

Phil. Mayster Doctour, I haue consydered howe you doo waye S. Austine. And contrary to his meanyng and wordes you would inferre your false conclusyon. As concernynge that it was called by hym the apostolical sea, that is not materiall to proue the Churche of Rome nowe to bee the catholike churche. I wyl graunt it nowe that it is the Apostolike sea, in respecte that Paule and Peter dydde ones there preache the gospell, and abode for a certayne season. I wouldе ye coulde proue it to bee the Apostolicall sea of that trewe religion and sincerite, as the Apostle lefte it, and dyd teache the same: The whiche yf ye can doo, you myght boast of Rome, as of the Apostolicall sea. Otherwyse it is nowe of no more force, than yf the Turke at Antioch and at Jerusalem, should boast of the Apostolike seas, bycause the Apostles once did there abide, and founded the churche of Christe. And where as by that the holie councell of Carthage dyd wryte vnto Pope Innocentie certifyeng hym of that was done in the generall councell, and wyllyng hym to set his helpyng hande to the suppressyng of the Dona-

A false conclusion in dede.

tiſtes, as they had done. That facte of the coũ
eell proueth nothyng the ſupremacy of the bi-
ſhop of Rome, no more then yf the hole con-
uocation houſe nowe gathered togyther, and
agreyng vpon certayne articles myght ſende
the ſame to ſome byſhop, that vppon certayne
impedimentes, is not preſent, wyllynge hym
to agree therto, and to ſet them forthe in his
dioces. The whyche facte doth not make any
ſuche byſſhop of greater auctoritie than the
reſte, bycauſe his conſent is brotherly requi-
red. And touchyng the ſucceſſion of the byſ-
ſhops of Rome brought in by ſaynt Auſtyn,
maketh nothyng nowe thereby, to proue the
ſame the catholike churche, oneleſſe you can
conclude with the ſame reaſon as S. Auſtyn
dothe. And the reherſall of the ſucceſſion of
the byſſhoppes dothe tende to this onely, to
proue the Donatiſts to be heretikes, bicauſe
they beganne, aſwell at Rome as in Affrica,
to founde an other churche, then was groun-
ded by Peter and Paule and by their ſucceſ-
ſours, whom he recyteth vntyl his tyme, whi-
chs all taughte no ſuche doctrine, neyther no
ſuche church, as the Donatiſtes. And yf preſ-
ently you be hable to proue by the ſucceſſion
of byſhops of Rome (wherof you doo glory)
that no ſuch doctrine hath ben taught by any
of the ſucceſſoures of Peters ſea, as is nowe
taught & beleued of vs, you haue good reſon
againſt vs. Otherwyſe it is of no force, as I
am hable to declare.

Chaun. Well maiſter doctor, you ſe we
can do no good, in perſuading of him,
let vs myny ſter the articles, whyche
my lord hath left vs, vnto hym. Now
ſay

saye you maister Phylpot to these articles? M. Johnson I praye you wryte his answeres.

Philpot. Maister Chauncellour, you haue no authoritie to enquire of me my beleefe in suche articles, as you gee aboute, for that I am not of my lorde of Londons diocesse, & to be breefe with you, I wyl make no further answer herin, then I haue already to the bishop

Chaun Why then let vs go our waies and let his keper take him away.

Thus endeth the vii. parte of this tragedie.

The nexte daye in the morning betyme the byshop sent one of his men vnto me, to cal me vp vnto his chapel to heare Masse.

Maister Phylpot wher be you? The bishops mã.

Phil. Who is that calleth me?

S. man. My lordes wyll is you shoulde ryse, and come to heare masse. Wil you come or no?

Phil. My stomacke is not verye good this morning: you may tell my lorde I am sycke. After this the keper was sente to bringe me to my lorde.

The keper. Maister Phylpot, you must ryse, and come to my lorde.

Phil. I am at your commandemente maister keper, as sone as I can: and goyng out of the

pryn

pryſon, he aſked me, ſayeng:

The keper. Wil you go to maſſe?

Phil. My ſtomacke is to rawe to diſgeſt ſuche rawe meates of fleſſhe, bloude, and bone this morneng. After this my keper preſented me to the byſhop in his hall.

London. Maſter Philpot, I charge you to anſwer to ſuch articles, as my chaplayne maiſter Dee, and my regeſter, haue from me, to obiecte againſt you: go and anſwer them.

Phil. My lorde, Omnia iudicia debent eſſe publica. All iudgementes ought to be publike. Therfore yf your lordſhip hath any thyng to charge me laufully withall, lette me bee in iudgement laufully and openly called, and I wyll anſwere accordyng to my duette, otherwyſe in corners I wyll not.

London. Thou art a folyſhe knaue, I ſee wel ynough. Thou ſhalte anſwere whether thou wilt or no, go thy waies with them I ſaye.

Phil. I may well go with them at your lordſhyps pleaſure, but I wyll make theym no further anſwere than I haue ſayd alreadye.

London. No wylte thou knaue? Haue him away, and ſet him in the ſtockes, what foliſhe knaue?

Philpot. In dede (my lorde) you handle me with others, lyke fooles: and we muſt be content to be made fooles at your handes: ſtockes and violence is your byſhoplike almeſſe. You go about by force in corners to oppreſſe,

an

and be ashamed, that your doynges shoulde come to lyght. God shorten your cruel kingdome for his mercyes sake. And I was putte by and by into the stockes, in an house alone separate from my felowes. God be praysed, that he hath thought me worthy to suffer any thyng for his names sake. Better it is to syt in the stockes of this worlde, then to syte in the stockes of a damnable conscience.

Marke here the proceedyng Ex officio.

The nexte daye after, an houre before day the bishop sent for me againe by the keper.

MAster Philpot arise: you must come to my lorde. Keper.

Phil. I wander what my lord meaneth, that he sendeth for me thus earely: I feare he wyl vse some violence towardes me, wherfore I pray you make hym this answer, that yf he sende for me, by an order of lawe, I wyll come and answere: otherwyse synce I am not of his dioces, neyther he is myn Ordinary, I wyll not (without I be violentely constrayned) come vnto hym.

Keper. I wyll goo tell my lorde what answere you make, and so he wente away to the bishop, and immediatly returned with two of the bishopes men, sayeng that I muste come, whether I would

woulde or no.

Phil. If by violence, any of you wyll enforce me to go, then I must go: otherwyse I wyll not, and therwith one of them toke me with force by the arme, and ledde me vp vnto the byshops galery.

Lond. What: thou arte a folyshe knaue in dede, thou wilt not come, wythoute thou be fette.

Phil. I am brought in dede, my lord, by violence vnto you, and youre crueltie is suche, that I am afrayd to come before you, I wold your lordshyp wouide gently proceede against me, by the lawe

London. I am blamed of the lordes the bishoppes, for that I haue not dispatched thee er this. And in faith I made suite to my lorde Cardynall, and to all the Connocation house, that they would heare the. And my lord of Lincolne stoode vp, and sayde, that thou werte a frantike felowe, and a manne that woulde haue the last woorde. And they al haue blamed me, bycause I haue brought the so often before the lordes openly, and they say, it is meat and drinke to you, to speake in an audience, you glory so of youre selfe. Wherfore I am commanded to take a farther order with thee. And in good faythe if thou wylt not relent, I wyll

make

make no farther delaye. Mary, yf thou wilt be cõformable, I wil yet forgeue the all that is paſte: And ſhalt haue no hurte for anye thynge that is alreadye ſayd or done.

Phil. My lorde, I haue anſwered you already in this behalfe, what I wil do. And as for the reporte of maiſter white biſhop of Lyncolne, I paſſe not: who is knowen to be myn enemy for that I beynge archedeacon did excommunicate hym, for preachyng naughty doctrine. If Chriſte my maſter were called a madde man, it is no meruayle thoughe you counte me frantike.

London. Haddeſt not ỹ a pigge brought the thother daye, with a knyfe in it? Wherfore was it (I praye the) but to kyll thy ſelfe? Or as it is told me (mary and I am coũſeled to take hede of the) to kyl me? but I feare the not, I trow I am able to treade the vnder my fote: do the beſt thou canſt.

Philpot. My lorde, I canne not denye that there was a knyfe in the pygges bealye, that was brought me. But who put hym in, or for what purpoſe, I knowe not, onleſſe it were, becauſe he that ſent the meate, thought I was without a knyfe, and ſo put hym in. But other thynges your lordeſhyppe needeth not to feare: for I was neuer without a knyfe, ſynce I cam into priſon. And touchyng your owne perſon, you ſhuld liue long, if you ſhuld liue vntyl I wold go about to kyl you. And I cõfeſſe by violẽce, your lordſhip is able

to

to ouercome me.

London. I charge the answere to myne articles. Holde him a boke. Thou shalt sweare to answer truly, to al such articles, as I shall demaunde the of.

Phil. I wyl fyrst knowe your lordshyp to bee myne Ordinary, before I sweare herein.

London. What? we shall haue an Anabaptiste of the, whyche thinketh it not lawfull to sweare before a Iudge.

Philpot. My lorde, I am no Anabaptist. I thynke it lauful to sweare before a competent iudge, beyng laufully required. But I refuse to swere in these causes before your lordshyp, bycause you are not myne ordinary.

London I am thine ordinarie, and here do pronounce by sentence interrogatory, that I am thyne ordinarye, and that thou art of my diocesse: and here he bad calle in mo to beare wytnesse. And I make thee (takynge one of his seruantes by the arme) to be my notary. And now herken to my articles, to the whiche (when he had red them) he monished me to make aunswere. And said to the keper, fette me his felowes, and I will make theim to be witnesse agaynste hym. In the meane whyle came in one of the sheriffes of London whom the bishop callyng for two chaires, placed by hym, sayenge: Maister

sheriffe

sheriffe I wold you shuld vnderstand howe I doo procede against this man Maister sheriffe you shall heare what articles this man dothe maintayne.
And so he red a rablement of fained articles, that I shulde deny baptisme to be necessary to theim that were borne of christen persons. That I denied fastynge and prayer, and all other good deedes. And that I maintayned onely bare faith to be sufficient to saluation, what soeuer a man did besides. And I mayntayned God to be the authour of all synne and wickednes.

Phil. Ha, my lorde haue ye nothing of truthe to charge me withall, but ye must be fayn to imagine these blasphemous lyes against me? you mighte as well haue sayd, I had kylled your father: the scriptures say, that God wil destroye al them that speake lyes. And is not your lordshyp ashamed, to say before this worshypful gentilman (who is vnknowen to me) that I maintayn these abhominable blasphemies, whyche you haue rehersed, whiche if I dydde mayntayne, I were well worthy to bee counted an heretike, and to be burned an hundred tymes, if it wer possible.

London. I doo obiecte them vnto thee, to here what thou wilte say in them, & how thou canst purge thy self of them.

Phil. Then it was not iustly saidin the beginnyng of your lordshyp, that I dyd mayntayn them, syncs almost I hold none of al those articles

ticles you haue red, in forme as they ar writē.

London. How saiest thou? wilt thou answere to them or no?

Phil. I wyll fyrst knowe you to be myne ordinarie, and that you may lawfully charge me with such thynges, and than afterward being lawfully called in iudgement, I wyl shew my mynd fully therof, and not otherwyse.

London Well then, I will make thy felowes to be wytnes against the: wher are they? come.

Keper. They be here my lorde.

London. Come hyther syrs, hold them a boke, you shall sweare by ỹ cõtentes of that boke, that you shall (all maner of affections layd aparte) say the truth of al such articles, as you shal be demaũded of, concerninge this man here present which is a verye naughty man, & take you hede of hym, that he doth not decepue you, as I am afraide he dothe you muche hurte, and strengthy you in your errours.

Prisoners. My lorde, we wil not swere, excepte we knowe wherto, we can not accuse him of no euil, we haue bē but a while acquainted with him.

Phil. I wonder your lordeshyp knowyng the lawe, wyll go about (contrary to the same) to haue infamous persons to be wytnesses: for your lordshyp doth take thē to be heretikes, & by the law an heretike can not be a witnes.

London

London. Yes one heretyke agaynſte an other maye be witneſſe well ynough. And maiſter ſherif, I wil make one of them, to be witnes againſt an other.

Phil. You haue the lawe in your owne hande and you wyll doo what you lyſte.

My priſon felowes. No my lorde.

London. No wil: I will make you ſweare, whither you wil or no. I were they be Anabaptiſtes (maiſter ſherifs) they thynke it not lawfull to ſweare before a iudge.

Phil. We thinke it lauful to ſwear for a man indictially called, as we are not nowe, but in a blynde corner.

London. Why then, ſeynge you wil not ſweare againſt your felowe, you ſhall ſweare for youre ſelfes, and I do here in the preſence of M. ſherif. obiecte the ſame articles vnto you, as I haue don vnto hym, and doo require you vnder the payne of excommunication, to anſwere particularlye vnto euerye one of theym, when you ſhall be examyned, as you ſhallbe, by and by examyned after, by my regeſter and ſome of my chaplaynes.

Priſoners.

My lorde, we wyll not accuſe oure ſelues. If any man can lay any thyng againſte vs, we are here redy to make anſwere thereto: otherwyſe we praye

youre

your lordeshyp not to burthen vs, for some of vs are here before you, we knowe no iust cause why.

London. M. sherif, I wil trouble you no longer with these frowarde men. And so he rose vp, and was goyng awaye, talking with maister sherif.

Phil. Maister Sheriffe, I praye you beare recorde, howe my lorde proceedeth agaynst vs in corners, without all order of lawe, hauyng no iust cause to lay agaynst vs. And after this, we were all commaunded to be had away. And I was commaunded to be put in the stockes, where I sat from mornyng vntil nyght, and the keper at nyght vpon fauoure lette me out.

The sũday after, the bishop cam into the cole house at night vvith the keper, and vewed the house, sayeng that he vvas neuer here afore. VVherby a man may gesse, how he hath kept Goddes commaundement in visityng the prisoners, seyng he vvas neuer vvith theim that haue bene so nygh his nose. And he came not then for any good zeale, but to view the place and thought it to good for me, and therefore after supper betvvene eyght and nyne he sent for me, sayeng:

London. Syr, I haue greate displeasure of the Quene and the counsell, for kepinge you so longe, and for letyng

tynge you haue so much lybertie. And besides that you be yonder, and stengh then ẏ other prisoners in their errors, as I haue layde wayte for your doynges, & am certified of you wel inough. I will sequester you therfore from thē and you shall hurt no mo as you haue done. And I wil out of hande dispatch you, as I am commaunded, onles you wilbe a conformable man.

Phil. My lord, you haue my body in your custody, you may transporte it whyther it please you. I am content. And I wolde you wolde make as quick expedition in my iudgement, as you saye: I long therfore: and as for conformitie I am ready to yelde to all truthe, yf any can bryng better then I.

London. Why? you wil beleue no man but your selfe, what so euer they saye.

Phil. My belefe muste not hange vpon mens sayinges, without sure auctoritie of Goddes woorde, the whiche yf any body can shew me, I wyll be plyant to that. Otherwyse I canne not go from mycertain faith to an vncertayn

London. Haue you then the truth only?

Phil. My lorde, I wyll speake my mynd frely vnto you, and vpon no malice I beare you before God. You haue not the truth, neyther are you of the churche of God. But you persecute bothe the truthe, and the true churche of God, for the which cause you can not prosper long. You see God doth not prosper your doynges accordynge to youre expectacion, he

hath of late shewed his iuste iudgement a-
gaynst one of your greatest doers, who by re-
Gardiner. port, dyed miserably. I enuy not your autho-
ritie you are in. You that haue learnynge
should knowe beste howe to rule. And seynge
God hath restored you to youre dignitie and
ipuyng agayne, vse the same to goddes glory
and to the settyng forth of his true religion:
otherwyse it wyll not continewe, doo what
you can.

London. With this sayēg, he was apau
sed, and sayd at length: that good man
was punyshed for suche as thou arte.
Wher is the keper, come let him haue
hym to the place that is prouided for
him. Go your waye before. And he fo-
lowed me, callynge the keeper aside,
commaundynge to kepe all men from
me, and narowely to serche me, as the
sequele did declare, and brought me to
his priuy dore, that goth into the chur-
che, and comanded two of his men to
accompany the keper, and to se me pla
ced. And afterwards I passed through
Poules vp to the lollardes tower, and
afterward turned alonge all the weste
syde of Poules through the wall, and
passyng through fire or seuen doores,
came to my lodginge thorough many
straites, where I cald to remembrāce
that straite is the way to heauen. And

it is

it is in a tower ryght on the other side, of Iollardes tower, as high almost as the battlementes of Paules. viii. fote bredth & xiii. of lēgth, and almost ouer ỹ prison where I was before, hauyng a window openyng towards the East by the which I may loke ouer the tops of a great mainy of houses, but se no man passynge into theim. And who so walketh in the bishops vtter galerye, going to his chapel, may se my wyndo & me standyng in the same: And as I was com to my place, ỹ keper pluckt of my goune, & serched me very narowly & toke away pēnar, inkhorn, girdell, & knife: but as god wolde I had an inkling a litle before I was cald, of my remouing, & therupon made an arrād to ỹ stole, where full sore agaynst my will I cast away many a swete letter and frendly, but that I had wrytten of my last examination before, I thrust into my hose, thinking the nert day to haue made an ende therof, and with goyng it was fallen downe to my legge, the whiche he by kelyng dyd soone espy, & asked what that was: I said thei were certaine letters. And with that he was very busy to haue them out. Let me alone, sayd I, I wyll plucke them out

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And with that I put in my hande, hauynge twoo other letters therein, and broughte by the same writinge to my codpece, and ther left it, geuinge hym the other twoo letters that were not of any great importance. The which for to make a shewe, that they hadde bene waightye, I beganne to teare as well as I could, tyll they snatched thē from me, and so deluded him (I thank God) of his purpose. After this he wente his waye, and as he was goynge, one of them that came with him sayd, that I did not deliuer the writinges I had in my hose, but twoo other letters I had in my hand before. No did quod he: I will go searche him better, ỹ which he I hearinge, conuaied mine examination I had written, into an other place, besydes my bed, and toke al the letters I had in my purse, and was tearynge of them when he came againe, and as he came, I threwe the same oute of the window, sayeng that I herd what he said. Wherfore I did preuent his searchynge agayne, wherof I was righte gladde. God be praysed that gaue me that presente shifte to blinde theyr eies from the knowledge of my writinges the which yf they had knowen, it wold

haue

haue bene a greate occasyon of more straiter kepyng and lokynge vnto, although they looke as narrowely as they may.

The next day after my keeper came before day in the mornyng, to call me downe, and so was brought doune into his warderobe, where with a keper I vvas lefte, and there continued al the day. But after diner, I vvas called doune into the chapel before the byshop of Lõdon, the bishop of S. Dauids, M. Mordaunt, one of the quenes councell, master Archedeacon of London: and before a great meny mo Balamites, and the byshop spake vnto me in this wise.

Syr, here I obiecte and laye vnto you in the presence of my lorde of S. Dauids, and of M. Mordaunt, and of these worshipful men, these articles here in this Libel cõteyned, and openly redde them, to whom when I wolde particularly haue answered to some of hys blasphemyes, he woulde not permitte me. But sayde I shoulde haue leasure ynoughe to saye what I would, when he had sayde: and to these here I adde an other scedule. Also I require thee to answere to the Cathechisme sette forth in the scismaticall

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tyme of kynge Edwarde. Also I will the to answere to certayne conclusyons, agreed vpon both in Oxford and Cambridge. And I here doo bryng forth these witnesses agaynst thee, in thyn owne presence, namely my lorde of S. Dauids, maister Wordant, and maister Harpesfielde, with as many of you as were present in the disputation he made in the conuocation house willyng you to testifie (of your othes taken vpon a boke, his stubburne and vnreuerent behauiour, he did there vse agaynste the blessed sacrament of the aultar: Geue me a booke, and receauyng one, he opened the same, saying: I wyll teache hym here one tricke in our lawe, which he knoweth not, that is, My lord of S. Dauids bicause you are a bishop, you haue this priuiledge, that you may swear Inspectis euangeliis & non tactis, by lookyng on the gospell boke without touchyng the same. And so he opened the boke in his syght, and shutte it agayne, and caused the other to put theyr handes on the booke, and toke their othe. And willed them to resort to his regester, to make their depositions, whā they myght be best at leysure. And afterwardes he tourned to

me

me, and sayde. Nowe syr, shall you an swer but in two wordes, whether you wyll answere to these articles, whiche I haue layde vnto you directely, yea or naye.

Phil. My lorde you haue tolde a longe tale a gainste me, contaynyng many lyeng blasphemies, whych can not be answered in two wordes: besides this, you promysed me at the beginning that I should saye what I could for my defence. And nowe will you not geue me leaue to speake. What lawe is this?

London. Speake yea, or nay. For you shall saye no more at this tyme: The cause was (as I gesse) that he sawe so many there gathered to heare.

Phil. Than my two wordes you would haue me speake shal be that I haue appeled from you, and take you not for my sufficient iudge.

London. In dede (maister Mordant) he hath appealed to the kynge and to the Quene, but I will be so bolde with hir maiestie, to stay that appeals in myne owne handes.

Phil You wyl doo what you list my lorde, you haue the lawe in your handes

London. Wylte thou answere or no?

Phil. I will not aunswere otherwyse, then I haue sayde.

London. Register, note his answer that he maketh.

Philpot. Knocke hym in the heade wyth an

hatchet, or set vp a stake and burne me out of hande, without farther lawe, aswel you maye doo so, as doo that you doo, for all is without order of lawe. Such tyranny was neuer sene as you vse nowe adayes. God of his mercye destroy your cruell kyngdom. And whyles I spake this, the byshop went away in haste.

S. Dauid. Maister Philpot, I pray you, be quiete, and haue pacience with you

Phil. My lorde, I thanke god I haue pacience to beare and abyde al your cruell intentes agaynst me, not withstandynge I speake thus earnestly beyng moued therunto iustly, to notifie your vniuste and cruell dealynges of men in corners, withoute all dewe order of lawe.

At night I was conducted by thre or foure to my colehouse, and in the mornyng the next day called doune betyme by my keper, and brought agayne into the warderobe, vvher I remayned vntyll the byshop had herd his masse, and afterward sente vp for me into his inner parlour, and there he called for a chayre to sitte doune, and broughte his infamous Libell of his forged articles in his hande, and sate doune, vvillyng me to draw nere vnto hym, and sayd:

I Am this day apointed to tarye at home from the parliamente house to examine you and your fellowes, vpon these articles, & you stand dalyeng wyth me, and wyll neither

neither aunſwere to nor fro. Iwys all your exceptions will not ſerue you. wyll it not be a fayre honeſtye for you (thinke you) that when thou comeſt afore my lorde Mayre and the ſheriffes, and other worſhipfull audience, when I ſhall ſay before them al, that I haue had the theſe many times before me, & before ſo many learned men, and then thou couldeſt ſaye nothinge, for that ÿ ſtandeſt in, for all thy bragges of learnyng, neither wouldeſt anſwer directly to any thing.

Phil. My lorde, I haue tolde you my mynde playne ynough, but yet I doo not intende to loſe that priuilege the lawe gyueth me, the whiche is free choyſe to anſwere, where I am not bounde, and this priuilege wyll I cleaue vnto, vntyll I be compelled otherwyſe.

London. Wel, I perceiue you wil play the obſtinate foole. Laye thyne apellation when thou comeſt in iudgement and anſwer in the mene while to theſe articles.

Phil. No my lorde, by your leaue I wyll not anſwere to theym, vntyll my laufull appeale be tryed.

London. Well thou ſhalt heare thē, and with that he began to reade them.

Philpot. I ſhranke backe into the wyndowe, and looked on a booke, and after he had redde them ouer, he ſayd vnto me.

London.

London. I haue reade them ouer, although it hath not pleased you to heare me. I maruaile (in good faythe) what thou meanest, to be so willfull and so stubburne, seyng thou mayest do well ynough yf thou list. It is but of singularitie, doest thou not se all the realme against thee?

Phil. My lorde, I speake vnto you in the witnesse of God, before whome I stande, that I am neyther wedded vnto myne owne will, neither stande vpon myne owne stubburnesse or singularitie, but vpon my conscience instructed by Goddes worde. And yf your lordship can shewe better euidence than I haue, for a good fayth, I wyll folowe the same.

London. What? thou wilt not (lo) for al y, wel al that is past shalbe forgotten: & be conformable vnto vs? I wys thou myghtest fynde as muche fauoure as thou wouldest desire.

Phil. Then I perceyuyng that he fauned so muche on me, thoughte it good to geue hym som comfort of retenetyng, to thende I myght openly geue hym and his hypocriticall generation openlye a further foyle, perceaupnge that they dare reason openly with none, but with suche as be vnlearned, and for lacke of knoweledge not able to aunswere, or elles with suche as they haue a hope, that for feare or loue of the worlde, wyll recant. I sayd, My lorde it is not vnknowen to you, that I haue openly in the audience of a greate numbre,

stand

ſtand to the mayntenãce of theſe opinions I am in, & by lernyng dyd offer to defend them. Therfore my Lorde, I wouide it myght open ly appeare to the worlde, that I am wonne by learnynge, or els what wyll they ſaye, but that eyther for feare, or loue of the worlde, I am without any iuſte grounde tourned from the truthe. And yf I haue any kynd of learnyng openly ſhewed, I ſhall be as conformable as you may requyre me.

London. Yea mary, nowe ye ſpeake ſommewhat like a reaſonable manne. Iwis you myghte haue hadde a great deale more fauoure in my houſe and libertie then you haue hadde. And you ſhall lacke nothing that is within my houſe, call for it, and you ſhall haue it. And what is it that you wold opẽly by lernyng ſomwhat be ſatiſfyed? tell me.

Phil. My lorde, I haue openly ſayd, and doo beleue it alſo, that your ſacrifice of the maſſe is no ſacrament.

London. What? doo you denye the preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament?

Phil. No my lorde, I denye not the preſence of Chriſte in the ſacrament, but I haue denyed the ſacrament of the altar, as it is vſed in your Maſſe, to be the true ſacramente of Chriſtes inſtitution. And firſte it muſte bee proued a ſacrament, or there can be any kind of preſence graunted.

London. Why, do you denye the maſſe to be a ſacramente? I praye you what

is

is a ſacrament? is it not the ſigne of a holy thyng, as S. Auſtin doth define it?

Phil. Yes verely, that it is.

London. Then I make this argument vnto you. A ſacrament is the ſigne of a holy thyng: but the maſſe is the ſigne of a holy thyng, ergo it is a ſacrament

Phil. You muſte adde this to youre maior, or firſt propoſition, as S. Auſtine doth meane: that a ſacramente is the ſigne of a holy thing inſtituted of God and commaũded: for other wyſe it can be no ſacramente, for all men can not make a ſacrament.

London. I graunte that, and ſuche a ſigne of a holy thynge is the Maſſe of Chriſtes inſtitution.

Phil. I deny that my lorde.

London. I wil proue this by S. Auſtin by and by. I wyll goe ſhewe you the boke, and you ſhall haue any booke I haue, that you wille demaunde. Hoe? who is without there? call me maiſter doctour Chadſey, maiſter archdeacon maiſter Couſins, and other chaplains hyther.

Here my lorde. M. doctour Chadſey is gone to Weſtminſter: and mayſter Archedeacon was here euen nowe.

London. Maiſter Couſyns, I pray you examine hym vpon theſe articles, and write his anſwer he maketh to euery

one of them. I wyl go examyne his fe-
lowes, and sende you S. Austine by
and by. I fynde this man more con-
formable then he was before.

Cosyns. I trust my lorde you shal fynd
hym at lengthe a good catholike man.
Mary here bee a syghte of heresies, I
dare saye, you wil holde none of them
neither stande in anye of them, Howe
saye you to the first?

Phil. Maister Cosyns I haue tolde my lorde
already that I wyll answere to none of these
articles he hath obiected against me. But yf
you will with learnyng answere to that whi-
che is in question betwene my lorde and me,
I wyll gladly heare and common with you.

Cosins. No wil you? Why what is that
then, whiche is in questiō betwene my
lorde and you?

Phil. Whether youre masse be a sacramente
or no?

Cosins. What? the masse to be a sacra-
ment? who euer doubted therof.

Phil. If it be an vndoubted truthe, you may
the sooner proue it: for I dont muche therof.

Cosins. Why I wyll proue it. It is the
signe of a holy thyng: Ergo it is a sa-
crament.

Phil. I deny your antecedent.

Cosyns. What wil you so? than ther is
no reasonyng with you. Thus maister
Cousyns gaue ouer in the playne fielde, for
wante

lyant of farther proke. And than the morowe masse chaplayne began to speake for his occupation, and with that maister Harpesfield came out from my lorde with saynt Austines epistles, sayenge.

Harpsfield. My lord hath sent you hither S. Austine to loke vpon. And I praye you loke what he sayth in a certain epistle, whiche he writeth, I wyll reade ouer the hole. Here may you heare the celebration of the masse, and howe he reproueth them that went a hawkyng & huntyng before the celebratiõ of the same, & that on the sabbat & holy days.

Phil. I percyue the contentes of this Epistle. And I see nothyng herein agaynste me, neyther nothyng that maketh for the proke of your sacrament of the masse.

Harpsfield. Nor doth he not make mẽtiõ of the masse, and the celebration therof. What can be spoken more playne?

Phil. Saint Austin meaneth of the celebration of the communion, and of the true vse of the sacrament of the body and blud of Christ & not of your priuate masse, which you of late yeares haue erected in the steade therof. For this worde Masse hath ben an olde terme attributed to the communion, euen frome the primatiue churche. And I pray you tell me what Missa, dothe signifie, I thynke not many that saye masse, can well tell.

Cosins. No can: that is merueil.

Phil. Then tell yf you can. But master Cõsyns and my morow masse chaplayn wer dõne

loo-

lookyng vpon mayster Harpesfield for helpe, and at length he spake.

Harpsfild. You thynke it cometh of the Hebrue word Massahe, as though none were lerne in Hebrew but you.

Phil. I haue not gone so longe to seeke, to derive the signification of Missa, which is a latin worde oute of Hebrue, But I haue learned to interprete Greeke wordes by Greeke, and Latin by Latin, and Hebreu by Hebreu. I take the communion to be called Missa, à Mittendo, of suche thynges, as at celebration of the communion was sent by suche as were of abilite, to the releefe of the poore, where the ryche brought after theyr deuocion and habilitie, and required the ministers in the celebration of the communion, to pray vnto God for them, and to accepte theyr common almes, whyche they at suche tymes dyd sende for the healpe of theyr poore bretherne and systers. And for thys cause was it called Missa, as learned men doo witnes. At the whyche celebration of the masse all that were present did communicate vnder bothe kyndes, accordynge to Christes institution, as they dyd in Saincte Augustines tyme. But oneleese you can shew that your masse is vsed as that was, you shall neuer by the name of masse, (whiche Saynete Augustine attributed to the trewe vse of the Communion proue your priuate masse to be a sacramente, onles you can proue the same vse nowe to bee in youre masse, as was then: which is cleane contrary.

Harpsfild. What: deny you the Masse to

be

be a ſacramente: for ſhame ſpeake it not.

Phil. I wyll not be aſhamed to deny it, if you can not proue it.

Harpſfild. Why it is a ſacrifice, which is more then a ſacrament.

Phil. You may make of it as muche as you lyſt, but yet ſhall you neuer make it a ſacrifyce, as you ymagin therof. But fyrſt it muſt be a ſacrament, for of the ſacrament you deduce your ſacrifice.

Harpſ. Why, doth not chriſt ſay, This is my body, and doth not the prieſt pronounce the ſame, that Chriſt did?

Philpot. The pronunciation is not onely ynough, onleſſe the wordes be therwithall applied to the vſe as Chriſte ſpake them to. For though you ſpeake the woordes of baptiſme ouer water neuer ſo many tymes, yet there is no baptiſme onleſſe there bee a chriſtian perſon to be baptiſed.

Harpſfild. Naye that is not like: for Hoc eſt corpus meum, is an indicatiue propoſicion, ſhewynge a working of God in the ſubſtaunce of bread and wine.

Phil. It is not only an indicatiue propoſition, but alſo imperatiue or commaundynge. For he that ſayd, Hoc eſt corpus meum, ſayd alſo, accipite, manducate, take ye, eate ye. And excepte the former parte of Chriſtes inſtitution of Chriſtes ſacrament be accompliſhed, accordyng to the commaundement, the later parte This is my body, can haue no verification; take it whiche way ye wyll, and howe

ye

you wyll.

Why than, you will make the sacrament to stande in the receyuing & that receauing maketh it a sacrament. Morovve Masse chaplaine.

Phil. I doo not say, that the receyuynge maketh it the sacrament only, but I saye, that a common receyuyng must needes be concurrent with the true sacrament, as a necessary member, without the whiche it can not bee a sacrament, because Christ hath made this a principall parte of the sacramente, Take ye, eate ye, whiche ye doo not in your masse, accordyng to Christes institution. Wherfore it can be no sacramente for that it wanteth of Christes institution.

Cosins. We do not forbid none to come to it. But as many as list, may be partakers with vs at the masse, yf they require it.

Phil. Nay that they shal not, though they require it. You wyll minister but one kynd vnto them, whiche is not after Christes institution. Besydes that you oughte before you go to masse, to exhort all that be present, to make a sacrifice of thankes geuynge for Christes passion with you, and to exhorte them to bee partetakers with you accordyng to Christes commandement, saying vnto all that be present, Take ye, eate ye. And likewyse by preachyng shewe foorth the lordes deathe, whiche you doo not.

Cosins. What and yf all thynges be done euen as you woulde haue it. And whyles the minister is about to mini-

ster the sacrament before any haue receaued it, ther rise a soden hurlyburly that the communicātes be compelled to go awaye: is it not a sacrament, for all that none hathe communicated beside the prieste?

Phil. In this case where all thinges are appoynted to bee doone accordynge to Goddes worde, yf incident necessitie had not let, I can not saye, but it is a sacramente, and that he which hath receaued, hath receaued the true sacrament After this the morow masse priest made this apishe reasen.

Morovve Masse prieste.

Yf the sacrament of the masse be no sacramente, onles all do receaue it, bycause Christ sayd, take ye, eate ye, thē the sacrament of baptisme is no sacrament, where there is but one baptised. Bicause Christ said to his apostles, go preache the Gospell to all creatures, baptisyng all the nations in the name of the father. &c.

Phil. Baptisyng all nations in that sayenge of Christe, is a commaundement to the apostles, to baptise all sortes of men, and to exclude none that doo beleeue, be he Gentile or Jewe, not meanyng al at ones, for that were impossible. And ther is many exampies that baptisme may be syngularly ministred to one person, as we haue exampie in Christ baptised of Johā, and in the Eunuche baptised of Philyp, with many mo such like. But so haue you not of the sacrament of the body & bloud

of

of Christe, but contrarywyse by the expresse wordes of S. Paule, you are commaunded to vse it in a communion and participation of many togyther, the. xi. to the Corinthians. Quoties conuenitis ad manducandum, alius alium expectat, As often as you come togyther to eate (meanyng the lordes supper) tarry one for an other. And also the mynyster in the celebration of the sacramente, speaketh vnto all that be present in Christes behalfe, to communicate with hym, sayeng, Take ye, and eate ye. Wherfore as many as be present and not communicate, doo breake Gods commaundement in not receauyng the same, and the minister is no iuste minister, that dothe nat distribute the sacrament, as Christ dyd, to all that are presente, and where Goddes worde is transgressed, there is not Christe present, and consequently is no sacrament.

Harpsfield. What wouldst you haue it no sacrament, except it be a cõmunion

Philpot. I make it not so, but Goddes expresse worde teacheth me so, yea also all the auncient writers. As S. Chrysostom writyng vpon the epistle to the Ephesians, saith that the oblation is in vayne, where as none dothe communicate with the priest. If by his iudgement the action of the priest alone is in vayne, where is no communion, howe can that be a sacrament, whiche he calleth a vayn oblation, and a vayne standyng at the altare?

Cosins. You are suche an other felowe, as I haue not heard, that wil not haue the masse to be a sacramente: you are no manne for me to reason withall.

Come, let vs goo, poynting to the mo
row masse chaplain, we wil leaue you
(maister archdeacon) and him together
And so they wente away. Afterwarde
the archdiacon fel into earnest persua
sions with me, sayenge.

Harpf. Master Philpot, you and I haue
bene of old acquaintance a long tyme
we were scolefelowes, both in winche
ster and in Oxforde many yeres, wher
fore I muste wyshe you as well to doo
as my selfe: and I praye you so thinke
of me.

Phil. I thanke you for youre good wyll to
wardes me, but yf you be deceaued, as I am
sure you are, I shall desyre you, not to wyshe
me deceaued with you. For, afore God I tell
you playnely you are hyghely deceaued, and
maintayn false religion and be not those men
you take youre selues for. And yf you do not
repent, & leaue of your persecutyng of Chri-
stes truth, you wyll go to the deuyll for it.
Therefore consyder it in tyme, I gyue you
warnyng, for in the daye of iudgement elles
I shalbe a wytnesse against you, that I told
you this here talkyng together.

Harpsfield. Fye, that is but your owne
vayne syngular opinyon. I perceaue
you are styll now, that man you were
in Oxforde.

Philpot. I trust you can report no notorious
euyll, that euer you sawe by me there.

Harpf.

Harpsfielde. I can saye no euill of your conuersacion, but I knewe you to be a studious man. Marye yf you remembre, when we met in disputacio in parys, you woulde not yghtelye gyue ouer, and for that cause I speake that I haue sayd.

Phil. Maister Harpesfield, you knowe in the schooles at Oxforde, when we were younge men, we dyd stryue muche vpon vayneglory, and vpon contention, more than for the truth. But nowe our yeares and oure ryper learnyng teache vs to fal to a truthe, which must be our portion for euer. And yf I was then (in my tyme of ignorance) earnest in myne owne cause, I ought nowe to bee earnest in my maister Christes cause, and in his truth. I knowe now, that nothyng done vpon vainglory and singularitie, can please God, haue it neuer so goodly a shewe. Wherfore I pray you, iudge not so of me nowe.

Harpf. What? wil you thinke your self better learned then al the learned men in this realme?

Phil. My fayth hangeth not vpon the learned of the worlde, but vppon the learned after Goddes woorde.

Harpfi. Well, I wil talke with you no more as now, but pray to god to open your harte.

Phil. I pray God open both our hearties, to doo more his wyll, then we haue doone in tymes paste.

Harpsfielde. Hoe keper take hym away with you.

Philpot. I pray you mayster Harpesfielde, telle me what this prououne Hoc dothe demonstrate and shewe in this indicatiue proposition as you cal it, Hoc est corpus meum, This is my body.

Harpsfield. It doth demonstrate the substaunce of bread, which by the wordes spoken by the preest, & by the omnipotencye of God, is turned into the substance of Christes very body.

Phil. Is the substance of the breade (as you say) tourned into Christes bodye?

Harpf. Yea that it is.

Phil. Why then Christes bodye receaueth dayly a great increase of many thousand peces of bread into his body. And than is his body become nowe, whiche it was not before. and by this you wold seme to make, that ther is an alteration in Christes glorified bodye, whiche is a wycked thyng to thynke.

Harpf. Then he fet aboute agayne, and remembringe better himselfe, and seyng the inconuenience of his firste assertion, of the transubstantiacion of the bread into Christes bodye, he sayd that the substaunce of breade after the wordes spoken by the preest, was euacuated or banished awaye, by the omnipotency of God.

Phil. This is an other song, than you sayde

fyrst

tyme. And here you maye see howe contrarye you ar to your selues. For in dede your schole men do holde, that the very substance of bread is really tourned into the substance of Christes body. And nowe you perceauyng of late the inconuenience whiche is obiected against you in that opinion, of late you are dryuen to ymagine a newe thyng: and say, the substaunce of breade is euacuated contrary to that your churche hath tyll beleued & taught. O what contrarietie is there amonge you, and all to deface the syncere truthe.

Harpsfield. Is not God omnipotente? & can not he do, as he hath sayd?

Philpot. But his omnipotencye wylle not doo as you say, contrary to his woorde, and to his honoure: It is not Goddes honoure to include bodyly in a piece of breade, and of necessitie to tye him therto. It is not Goddes honour for you to make a piece of breade God and man, whiche you see before your face dothe putrifye after a certayne tyme. Is not Goddes omnipotencye as hable to gyue his body with the sacramental bread, as to make so many tournynges away of the breade as you doo. And that directly agaynst the scripture, whiche calleth it bread many tymes after the consecration. Are you not ashamed to make so many alterations of the lordes holy institution, as you do? And to take away the substaneial partes of the sacrament, as, take ye, eate ye, drinke ye all of this. Do ye this in remembrance of me: and to place in their stedes, heare ye, gase ye, knocke ye, worship ye, offer ye, sacrifice ye for the quick and the dead. If this bee not blasphemye to God and his

sacrament, to adde and to plucke awaye in this sort, and that contrary to the mynde of all auncient wryters, and contrary to the example of Christe and his apostles, tell me.

Harpsfield. I know you haue gathered the sayenges of the doctors together, which make for youre purpose. I will talk no longer with you. And so to the end as is written afore.

The next day after dyner, I was brought into my lordes vpper hall, and there he called me before him and his Regester, and before doctour Chadsey, in the presence of two homely gentylmen, and a priest, which I knewe not, sayenge:

I Do here laye vnto this man in your presence, requirynge you to be witnesse againste him, as muche as you knowe in any of them, these articles, this booke of the Cathechisme made in kynge Edwardes dayes. Also these conclusyons agreed vpon, both in Oxford and Cambridge: also I laye vnto hym, that he hath despised the censures of the churche, and hath standen accursed more then this twelue moneth, and neuer required absolution therof. Howe say you, waste thou not accursed by my lord

lorde Chauncellour?

Phil. I was excommunicated by him wrongfully, and without anye iuſt cauſe, and wythoute order of lawe, beynge neuer perſonallye cyted.

London. Diddeſt thou not telle me the other day, whã I required the to come to maſſe, that thou waſt excommunicated, and therefore by the lawe couldeſt not heare maſſe? Howe longe haſt thou ben thus excommunicate?

Phil. More than this twelfe moneth and this halfe.

London. Lo, you maye heare what he ſayth, write it.

Phil. But as you woulde haue wrytten that I haue ſayde, I haue bene thus long excommunicated, ſo alſo let hym write, that I did require of my lorde chauncelor that did excommunicate me, my abſolucion, but he woulde not geue it me, ſayeng that I was excommunicatus ipſo iure, bycauſe I was an heretike, as it pleaſed hym to call me, therfore accurſed by your lawe, and ſo commaunded me to pryſon, where I remayne.

Why do you not requyre abſolucõ at my lordes handes here now? A gentleman.

Phil. Becauſe he is not myne Ordinary, neither hathe by the lawe any thyng to doo with me of ryght.

Lond. What an obſtinate foole is this? I tell the, I will be thyne Ordinarye whether thou wilte or no.

Phil.

Phil. And because of this your vnryghteous force towardes me, I haue appeled from you and require you (mayster Regester) that my appeale may be entred in wrytyng.

London. Haue you hearde suche a frowarde felowe as this? he semed yesterdaye to be very tractable, and I had a good hope in him. I tell thee, thou arte of my diocese.

Phil. I am of Wynchester diocese, and not of London diocese.

London. I pray you, may not a man be of two dioceses at ones?

Phil. No, that he can not.

London. Lo, will you see what an ignorant foole this is in the law, in the whyche he wolde seme to be sene. I tel the, a man may be of thre dioceses at ons: as if thou were borne in London, by reason therof thou shouldest be of my dioces, or els if thou were not borne, but haddest a dignitie here, also thou arte to be counted of my diocese, or els by reason of thy habitation in my diocese.

Philpot. In none of these respectes I am of your lordships dioces: But for all ỹ this will not folowe, that I dwellynge at Wynchester am (at that present) of London dioces.

London. What wyl you lay therof? wilt thou recant, yf I proue it?

Phil. But what shall I winne, yf you do not?

Lon.

London. I wyl gyue the my bysshoprike yf I proue it not.

Phil. Yea but who shall delyuer it me, yf I winne?

London. Thou arte an arrogant foole. Entre theyr othes, and take these witnesses depositions. I must be gone to the parliament house.

After this spake vnto me a prieste, standyng by, as kynge me whether I was kinne to my lordes Kyche or no? Astraunge kinseman of mine.

Phil. I said, he sayd so him selfe vnto me, the other day, but howe I knowe not.

Chadsey. I heard hym say, that he was his very nygh kynseman.

Why then you and I must be of kyn for he is my very nigh kinsman. How chance it that you and I be of contrary iudgementes? Balaamit kinseman.

Phil. It is no meruel that, for Christe prophecied that the father shalbe deuided against the sonne, and the sonne agaynste the father, for his truthes sake.

The Bala. You do hold (as I vnderstād) against the blessed sacramentof the altar, and agaynst the holy masse.

Phil. Yf you can proue it a sacrament, I wil not holde agaynst you.

Balamit. What? proue it a sacramēt or a? Doth not S. Paule say: Quæ oculus non vidit, & auris non audiuit, quæ præparauit Deus diligentibus, That suche thyn-

thinges as the eye hathe not sene, neyther eare heard God hath prepared for them that loue him.

Phil. That sayeng of S. Paule concerneth nothynge your sacrament, but is ment of the heauenly ioyes, that be prepared for al faithfull beleuers.

The Bala. Why thē I perceyue you vnderstand not S. Paul: by God you are deceaued.

Phil. You ought not to sweare kynsman, yf you wyll I shall so call you, and without disworshyp of our kynrede, I vnderstande S. Paule as wel as you, and know what I say. And with that shewed hym a Greke testamēt with Erasmus translation, and with the olde also, demaundynge hym whiche texte he was beste acquaynted withall.

Balamit. I knewe Greke to once, as well as you: I care not whyche you reade.

Philpot. You know them then all alyke you vnderstande the one as welle as the other.

With this my Balaamite kynsman departed in a fury.

¶ The next day after, I was brought doune agayn after dyner, to the chapel; and there my Balaamite kynsman (to verify the scriptures, that a mans own kinsefolkes shall be his enemies) came in with the bysshop, as a wytnes agaynst me. And there the bishop caused an other that came to hym aboute an other matter, to sweare also to be a wyt-

a wytnesse agaynste me, whiche was a
prieste also, sayenge:

YOu shal sweare to depose all the truth of certen articles you shal be enquired of concerninge this manne. And here I (accordyng to the lawe) do bringe them forth in thy presence. London.

Phil. My lorde, I doo not agree to the production of theym, but doo appeale frome all all these, & others your procedynges agaynst me. And require you mayster Regester, that my appeale may be entred, and I wyll gyue you for your labour.

Regester. Your appeale shalbe entred at leasure, whome do you appeale vnto? tell me.

Phil. I appeale to a higher iudge, as to the lieutenaunt of the archebyshoprike of Cantorbury: for I knowe not who is bishop therof at this present. With that the bishop went away, and my Balaamite kynseman looked bygge vpon me, but sayd neuer a worde.

This I haue in haste scribled oute all myne examinacion hithereto, that the whych hath ben done vnto me in darke might come to light, & that the papists vniust procedynges and nakednes in their false religion might be knowen to their confusion.

Jesus

Ieesus is God vvith vs. Amen. 1555.

The examination of Iohn Philpot had on S. Andrevves day last, before the byshop of Duresme, the B. of Chichester, the byshop of Bathe, the byshop of London, the Prolocutor, maister Christoforson, and Doctor Chadsey. D. Morgan of Oxforde, mayster Hussey of the Arches, D. VVeston, D. Harpesfield Archedeacon, maister Cousyns, and maister Ihonson regester to the byshop of London in his palaice.

I Was coming beyng sēt for with my keper, and the bishoppe of London met me at his halle dore, and ful manerly plaied the gentilman Husher, to bryng me before ẏ lordes, saying:

London. My lordes, I shall desyre you to take some paines with this manne, he is a gentylman, and I woulde he shoulde doo well, but he wyll wylfully cast away hym selfe.

Duresme. Come hyther syr, what is your name?

Phil. My name is Philpot.

Duresme. I haue heard of that name to be a worshypfull stocke, and synce you be a gentylman, doo as you may lyue worshipfully among other gētlemen: What is ẏ cause of your trouble now.

Phil. I tolde hym the cause as in my former

exa-

examinacions is expyred.

Durefme. Well, al cauſes ſet apart, wil you nowe bee a conformable man to the catholike faith, and leaue all newe fangled opinions and hereſies? Iwys I was in Germany with Luther, at the begynnyng of this, and can telle, howe they began. Leaue them, and followe the catholike churche thoroughoute the worlde, as the whole Realme nowe dooth.

Phil. My lorde I am of the catholike faythe and deſire to liue & die in the ſame. But it is not vnknowen to your lordſhip, that I with others theſe twenty yeres haue be taught an other maner of fayth, than you now go about to compell vs vnto. Wherfore it is requiſite that we haue a tyme to waigh the ſame, and to heare, how it agreeth with Goddes worde. For fayth is not at a foden, neither wonne ther remoued, but as S. Paule ſayth, fayth commeth by hearing, and hering by the word. Fides ex auditu, auditus per verbum.

Chicheſt. And if you wil geue me leaue my lord, I wil ſhewe hym howe he taketh the ſayeng of S. Paule amiſſe, as many other nowe adayes alledgynge the ſame doo, that they ought not to be cõpelled to beleue: wher as S. Paule meaneth of infidelles, and not of the faithfull. And ſo S. Auſtyn writyng againſt the Donatiſtes, ſaieth, that the

faith-

faythfull may be compelled to beleue
Philpot. Saincte Bernarde (and it please your lordshyp) dothe take that sense of saynte Paule as I doo, sayeng that Fides est suadẽda, & non imponenda, fayth must be persuaded to a man, and not enioyned. And S. Austine speaketh of suche as were fyrst throughly persuaded by manifest scriptures, and yet wold reiyst of stubburne wylfulnes.

Chichest. So Bernarde meaneth of infidels also.

Phil. No my lorde that he dothe not: for he writeth not of the infydeles, for he writeth of suche as were deceyued by errours.

Chichest. My lord of Duresme, I haue ben so bold to interrupt your lordship of youre tale, I praye you nowe procede on.

Duresme. Maister Philpot, will you be of the same catholike faith and church with vs, you were baptised in, & youre godfathers promised for you, and hold as we doo? and then may you be ridde out of trouble. I perceyue you are lerned, and it is pitie, but you shoulde doo welle.

Phil. I am of the same catholike faith and catholike churche I was baptized vnto, and in that will I liue and dye.

Duresme. That is well sayd, yf you hold there, you can not but doo well.

Chichest. Yea my lorde, but he meaneth

other

otherwise than you do. Are you of the same fayth, your godfathers and godmothers were or no?

Phil. I can not tell what faythe they were of certaynly but I am of the fayth I was baptized vnto, whiche is in the faythe of Christ, for I was not baptized in the faith of my godfathers, but in the faith of Christ.

Christo. S. Austin sayeth: that infantes are baptized in fide susceptorum, In the fayth of theyr godfathers.

Phil. S. Austin yet in so sayenge meaneth of the fayth of Christ, whiche the godfathers, do or ought to beleue, and not otherwise.

Duresme. Howe saye you, wyll you beleue as we do, and al the learned of the realme, or no: and bee of one churche with vs?

Phil. My lordes it is not vnknowen vnto you that ther hath ben alwayes two churches.

Chicheſt. Nay, that is not so, ther is but one catholike churche.

Phil. I shall desyre youre lordshyps to heare oute my tale, and to take my meaninge, for I knowe there is but one true churche, but alwayes from the beginning there hath ben ioyned to the same true churche, a false churche, adversary to the true, and that was declared at the fyrst in Abell, and Cayne, who persecuted and slew his brother, in whom (as S. Austine witnesseth) is represented the false and true church. And after that as sone as God had chosen his peculiar people, and shewed

vnto them his sanctuary, holy statutes, and wyll, anone after the false churche, and ten of the .xii. tribes of Israell diuided them selues from the true churche of Juda & Beniamin, and made to them selues at Bethell, and set vp golden calues, and yet pretended therwith to serue God, and so abused his woorde. Notwithstandyng God was displeased with them and ceassed not his wrathe vntyll he had vtterly destroyed them.

Chicheſt. I will graunt you, before the cõming of Christ ther were two churches in the olde lawe, but in the newe lawe, sence Christes cõmyng, you can not shewe it to be so, by the scripture.

Phil. Yes my lorde that I can. yf you wyll geue me leaue. After Christe had chosen his twelue apostles, was there not a Judas in the newe lawe, and a Symon Magus? And were not they of the false churche?

Chicheſt. Yea but I meane after ỹ Gospel was wrytten, where can you finde me two churches after Christe had ascended, and sent the holy Ghost?

Phil. The Gospell was within eyght yeres after the ascencion wrytten by S. Mathieu, and the writyng therof is not material to the declaration of these two churches, to haue be always from tyme to tyme, as by examples it may be shewed. And yet as euyll my memory is, I remembre in the new testament, is mencion made of two churches, as it appeareth in the Apocalips, and also S. Paule to the Thessalonians maketh mention, that Anti-

christ

chriſte with his falſe generation ſhall ſytte in the temple of God, to the whyche Chicheſter replyed not.

Dureſme. The churche in the ſcripture is likened to a great fiſhers net, which contayneth in it both good fiſhes and bad fyſhes, I truſte you wyll be of the better ſort, and leane to the trueth.

Phil. My lorde, it is my whole deſyre nowe to folowe that whyche is good, what ſoeuer I haue done in tymes paſte, and to cleaue to Goddes truthe.

Dureſme. Do you ſo, and then ſhall you do well. It is almoſt nyghte my lorde of London, I muſt nedes be gone.

London. Naye my lorde of Dureſme I muſt deſire your lordſhip, and my lord of Chicheſter, to tary a lyttell whyle. And before he had ſo ſaid, the biſhop of Bathe went his way, without ſayeng any worde. What my lorde of Bathe will you be gone? I pray you tary. My lordes, I haue erneſt matters to charge this man withall, wherof I would your lordeſhips to be made priuy. And I haue theim here wrytten in a lybell. I pray you ſytte downe agayne, or els I wyll.

Fyrſte I laye to hym heere, that he hath wrytten in a Bible, which I toke from hym, this erronious ſayenge:

Quod ſpiritus eſt vicarius Chriſti in terra ?
wilt thou abide by this ſaieng of thine that the ſpyryte is Chryſtes vicar on earth?

Phil. My lord, it is not my ſayeng, it is a better learned mans then myne. For I vſe not to wryte myne owne ſayenges, but the notable ſayenges of other auncient wryters, as al the other be, wher ye fynde the ſame wrytten. And as I remember, it is in the ſayenge of S. Bernarde, and a ſayeng that I neede not to be aſhamed of, nether you to be offēded, as my lord of Dureſme and my lorde of Chicheſter by their learnynge can diſcerne, and wyll not recken it euill ſayde.

London. No will? why? take awaye the firſt ſillable, and it ſoundeth Arius.

Phil. That is farre fetched in deede: yf youre lordſhyp wyll ſcanne mens ſayenges in ſuche wyſe, you may fynde out what you lyſt.

London. But to help this, I fynde more ouer wrytten with hys owne hande in an other boke: In me Ioanne Philpotto, vbi abundauit peccatum, ſuperabūdauit & gratia. That is: in me John Philpot wher ſynne dyd abounde, grace hath ſuperaboūded. I pray you what ſuperaboūdaunt grace haue you more thē other men? So ſaid Arius, that he had the aboundaunce of grace aboue al other.

Phil. My lorde you neede not to bee offended with that ſayeng, more than the other, for it is the ſayeng of S. Paule, of hym ſelfe, and

A

I dyd applye it to my ſelfe for my comforte, knowynge that though my ſynnes be huge and great in the ſyght of god, yet is his grace and mercy aboue them all. And concernynge Arius and his adherentes, I defye them, as it is well knowen, I haue written againſte theym.

London. Alſo I laye to thy charge, that thou killedſt thy father, & waſt accurſed of thy mother in her deathebed, as I can bringe witnes herof.

Phil. O Lorde, what blaſphemy is this? hathe youre lordeſhyp nohynge of truthe to charge me withall, but (as I maye ſpeake it with youre honours) ſuche forged blaſphemous lyes? If any of theſe can be proued, I will promyſe here to recante at Paules Croſſe, what you wyll haue me. I am ſo ſure, they are as great blaſphemies, as may be obiected againſt any man; Ha my lordes, I pray you conſyder howe my lorde of London hath hytherto proceded againſte me. For in deede he hathe none other but ſuche pretenced ſclaunderous lyes.

Chiche. They be parorga; That is maters beſyde the purpoſe.

Dureſme. My lorde, I muſt nedes bidde you fare well.

London. Nay my lord, here is a letter which your lordſhippe I ſhal deſyre to heare er you goo. This man (beyng in my kepinge) hathe taken vpon hym to wryte letters out of priſon, and to per-

uerte a yonge gentilman, called mayster Grene, in my house (calle hym hyther) and hathe made a false reporte of his examination, as you shall heare, not being content to be euill him selfe; but to make others as badde as hym selfe, he all to tare the letter, when he sawe my man wente about to searche hym. But yet I haue pieced it agayne togyther, and caused a copy to be writen therof, and he read the torne letter biddyng maister Christoferson & doctor Morgan to marke the copy therof.

The contentes of the letter was the examination of maister Grene before the bishop of London, in the presence of maister Feknam, deane of Paules, and of dyuers others, whose redy answeares in the scryptures and in the doctours was wondred at, of the dean hym self, and of many others, as master Feknam dyd report. And that he was firste committed to doctor Chadsey, and after to doctour Dee the great coniurer, and to haue his meate frome the bishops owne table. How saye you my lordes? was this well done of him, beyng my prysoner to wryte this? And yet he hath writen as shamefully, that he was in doctor Chadseys kepynge,

howe

howe saie you mayster Doctor Chadsley, is it not a shamefull lye?

Chad. Yes my lorde, he was neuer in my keppynge.

London. Art thou not ashamed to write suche shamefull lyes? come hyther master Grene, dyd not I shewe you this letter?

Grene. Yea forsothe my lorde, you shewed it me.

London. Howe thynke you my lordes? Is not this an honeste manne to belye me, and to call my chaplayne a great conjurer? my lorde of Duresme smiled therat.

Phil. Your lordeshyp dothe mystake all thynges: this letter (as your lordshyp may perceiue and al other that haue heard the same) was not written by me, but by a frende of myne certifyeng me at my requeste, howe master Grene syed at my lord of Londons handes: and ther is nothing in the letter that other I or he that wrote it, nede to feare, but that might be written, as my reporte.

London. Than tell me, who wrote it if you dare.

Phil. No my lord, it is not my duety to accuse my frende: specially seing you wil take all thinges to the worste. Neyther you shall neuer knowe of me who wrote it. Your lordshyppe maye see in the ende of the letter, that my frende dydde write vnto me vppon the occasion of my appeale, which I haue made vnto

to the hole parliament house, aboute suche matters as I am wrongfully troubled for.

London. I woulde see anye so hardy, to put by thyne appeale.

Phil. My lorde I can not tell what god will worke. I haue writen it, spede as it may.

London. My lord, I haue used him with muche gentilnes, synce he cam to me, howe sayst thou: haue I not:

Phil. It to lye in the vyest pryson in this towne (beyng a gentylman and an archedeacon) and in a colehouse by the space of. v. or vi. wekes already, without fyre or candell, bee to bee counted gentylnes at your handes, I muste nedes saye I haue founde gentylnes. But there were neuer men so cruelly handeled as we are at these dayes.

London. Lo, what a varlet is this: besydes thys (my lords) euen yesterdaye he procured his man to bring him a bladder of blacke powder, I cannot tel for what purpose I.

Phil. Your lordshyp needeth not to mystruste the matter, it is nothynge but to make ynke withall, for lacke of ynke, as I hadde it before in the kynges benche, when my keeper toke away my ynkehorne.

London. And why shouldest thou go about any such thing vnknowing vnto me beinge thy keper: for I am thy keper in this house, I tel the.

Phil. My lorde, bycause you haue caused my penner and ynkehorne to be taken frome me,

I would

I wold yet fayn, that my frendes might vnderstand what I lack, not that I intended to write any thyng that I wold be aferde shuld come to your syght.

London. Wore then thys my lordes, he caused a pyg to be rosted and made a knyfe to be put betwene the skyn and the flesshe, for what purpose iudge you how sayest thou? dyddest thou not so? A great heresie.

Phil. I can not denye but there was haike a pyg sent me, & vnder the same a knyfe lyenge in the sauce, but for none yll purpose that I knowe, your lordshyppe may iudge what you wyll. It was not to kyll my selfe, nor none other, as you wold haue men to beleeue, for I was neuer yet without a knyfe, synce I came to yrkyson, therfore all these be but false surmises, and not worth rehersall.

London. I haue here to lay to his charge (chefest of all) his boke of the report of the disputacion had in the conuocation house, which is the rankest heresy that may be againste the blessed sacrament of the altare. How say you M. doctor Weston? dyd he maintain the same there stubbornly or no?

VVeston. Yea my lorde, that he dyd, and would neuer be answered. And it is pitie, that the same worshipfull congregation should be slaundered with such vntrue reportes.

Phil. You answered me in dede Master D. beyng

(beyng than prolocutour) goodly, with holde thy peace, and haue him to prison, and putte hym out of the house. I haue redde the boke and I fynde the reporte of euerye manner argument to be trewe in all poyntes. And yf there bee any faulte, it is bycause it setteth forthe your doynges to fauourably, and nothynge lyke to that you dyd vse me, beyng an archdeacon, and not of the worst of the house.

VVeston. Thou art no Archdeacon.

Phil. In deede M. D. ye haue amonge you vnarchedeaconed me as nowe (It hanke God of it) and that without all order of lawe.

London. I praye you my lordes harken what he wryteth of hym selfe, I red it ouer this mornynge, and made a note of it. He saieth that D. Weston called him frantike and mad man, and sayed he shoulde go to Bethlehem.

Phil. In dede my lorde, so it pleased M. Weston to taunt at me, and say his shamefull pleasure: but yet I was no whyt the more so, for all his sayenges, then Christe was, when the Scribes and the pharyseys sayd lykewyse: he was madde, and that he was possessed of a dyuell, moste blasphemously.

Vnresme. My lorde of London, I can tarye no longer: I must nedes bidde you farewel. M. Philpot me thynketh you haue said well, that you wyll abyde in the catholike faith and in the catholik churche: I praye you so doode, and you

shall

shal do ryght well. And so he departed with M. Wesion and master Hussey.

Phil. I haue purposed so to doo (how soeuer I speede) by Goddes grace.

London. I pray you my lord of Chichester, and M. prolocutor, and M. doctor Morgan to cõmon with hym, whyles I bring my lorde of Duresme going.

Christoforson. M. Phylpotte, I was acquainted with you at Rome, yf you be remembred, but you haue forgottẽ me and talked somwhat with you of these matters, and I find you now the same man as you were then, I wysh it were otherwise, for Goddes sake be conformable to menne that be better learned then you, and stande not in your owne conceat.

Phylpot. Wher as you call to remembrance of acquayntaunce had at Rome, in deede it was so, though it were but very straunge on your parte to me warde, beyng dyuen to necessitie.

Christof. You knowe the worlde was daungerous at that tyme.

Phil. Nothyng so daungerous as it is now, but lette that passe: where as you saye you fynde me the same man I was then, I praise God for that you see me not lyke a rede, wanderyng with euery wynd. And where as you would haue me folowe better learned men then my selfe: In deede I doo acknowlege

that

that you with a great mayny other, are fayre better learned then I, whose bookes in respecte of learnyng I am not woorthy to carye after you. but faythe and the wysedom of god consisteth not in learnynge onely, and therefore S. Paule wylleth, that our faith be not grounded vpon the wysedom of man. If you can shewe by learnyng out of Goddes booke that I ought to be of an other fayth than I am, I wyll heare you, and any other manne what soeuer he be.

Christo. I meruel why you shoulde dissent from the catholike churche synce it hath thus long vniuersally beue received, except within this fyue or syx yeares here in Englande.

Phil. If I did not dissent frome the true catholyke churche, I do only dissent from the churche of Rome, whiche yf you can proue to bee the catholike churche of Christe, I wyll be of the same also with you.

Christo. Will you beleue S. Cyprian yf I can shewe you out of hym, Quod Ecclesia Romana est talis ad quam perfidia accedere nō potest, That the church of Rome is suche a one, vnto the whyche mysbeleue can not approche.

Phil. I am sure you can not shewe any suche sayenge out of S. Cyprian.

Christo. What wyll you laye thereon?

Phil. I wyll laye as muche as I am able to make.

D. Morgan. Will you promise to recant yf

yf he shewe his sayeng to be true?

Phil. My fayth shall not hange vpon no doctours sayeng, further then he shal be able to proue the same by goddes worde.

Christo. I wil go fet the boke and shew it him by and by, and there wythall he went into the bishops study & fet Cyprian, and appointed out these wordes in one of his epistles, AdRomanos autem quorum fides Apostolo predicante laudata est non potest accedere perfidia, But vnto the Romayns whose fayth by the testimony of the apostle is praised: misbeleefe can haue no accesse.

Cipri. ad Corne. vel ad Stepha.

Phil. These wordes of Cyprian do nothyng proue youre pretenced assertion. whyche is, that to the Churche of Rome, there coulde come no mysbeleefe.

Christof. Good Lorde, no dothe: what can be sayd more playnely?

Philpot. He speaketh not of the churche of Rome absolutely.

Christof. By God, a chylde that can but his grammer, wyll not deny that you doo, the wordes be so playne.

Phil. Sweare not M. D. but way Cyprians wordes with me, and I shall make you to say as I haue sayd.

Christof. I am no D. but I perceaue it is but labour lost to reason with you.

London. And with that, the bishoppe of London came in blowyng agayn, and sayd,

sayde: what is my lorde of Chichester gone awaye also? (for he euen a lytle before departed also without anye other worde sayeng, but he must nedes be gone (what is the matter you nowe stande vpon.

Morgan. M. Christoferson hath shewed M. Philpot a notable place for the authoritie of the church of Rome, and he maketh nothing of it.

London. Wher is the place, let me se: by my fayth here is a place alone. Come hither sir, what say you to thys? Naye tary a litle, I wil help this place, with S. Paules owne testimonye the firste to the Romaynes, where he sayth, that their fayth is preached throughoute the worlde, how can you be able to answere to this?

Phil. Yes my lord, it is soone answered, if you well consyder all the wordes of Cyprian: for he speaketh of such as in his tyme were faythfull at Rome, that folowed the doctrine of S. Paule, as he hadde taught theym, and as it was notifyed throughoute the worlde by an Epistle which he had wryten in the commendation of their fayth. With suche as ar praised of S. Paule at Rome, for folowynge the true faythe, myne belefe can haue no place. And nowe yf you can shewe, that the faythe whiche the churche of Rome holdeth, is that faythe, whyche the apostle praysed and allowed

wed in the Romaynes in hys tyme, then wyll I saye with S. Cyprian, and with you, that infidelitie can haue no place there, but otherwyse it maketh not absolutely for the authoritie of the churche of Rome as you doo mystake it.

Christo. You vnderstand Cyprian wel in dede, I thynke you neuer red hym in your lyfe.

Philpot. Yes M. D. that I haue. I can shew you a booke noted with myne owne hande, though I haue not redde so muche as you, yet I haue redde somewhat. It is shame for you to writhe and wreste the doctours as you doo, to mayntayne a false religion, which be all togyther agaynst you, yf you take them aryght, and yf your false packyng of the doctours togither hath geuen me and others occasion to loke vpon them, wherby we find you shamefull lyers and mysreporters of the ancient doctours.

Morgan. What will you be in hande to allowe doctours nowe? they of youre secte doo not so, I meruayle therefore you wyll allowe theim.

Phil. I do alowe them, in asmuche as they do agre with the scriptures: and so do al they which be of the truth, how so euer you terme vs: and I praise God for the good vnderstanding I haue receaued by them.

Christo. What? you vnderstand not the doctors: you may be ashamed to say it.

Phil. I thanke God, I vnderstande theym better

better than you. For you haue excæcationem cordis, the blyndnes of heart, so that you vnderstande not truely what you reade, no more then the wall here, as the takyng of Cyprian doothe well declare. And afore God you are but deceauers of the people, for al your brag you make of learnyng: neyther haue ye scripture or auncient doctour on your syde beyng truely taken.

Christo. Why, al the doctors be on our syde, and against you altogether.

Phil. Yea, so you sayt, when ye be in your pulpits alone, and none to answere you. But yf you wil com to cast accõptes with me therof, I wil venture with you a recantacion, that I (as lytle syght as I haue in the doctors) wil bring more authorities of auncient doctors on my syde, then you shall be able for yours, & he that can bryng most, to hym let the other syde yelde. Are you content here with?

Christo. It is but folye to reason wyth you: you will beleue no man but your selfe.

Phil. I wyll beleue you or any other learned man, yf you can bryng any thynge woorthye to be beleued. You can not wynne me with vayne woordes from my faythe. Before God there is no truthe in you.

Mor. what no truth, no truth: ha, ha, he

Philpot. Excepte the articles of the trinitie, you are corrupt in all other thynges, and are sounde in nothyng.

Morgan. What say you: Doo we not beleeue well on the sacrament:

Phil.

Phil. It is the thyng, whyche (among all o-ther) you doo moste abuse.

Morgan. Wherin I pray you tell vs?

Phil. I haue tolde you before this M. D. in the conuocation house.

Morgan. Yea mary in dede you told vs there very well, for their you fel down vpon your knees and fell to wepinge: ha, ha, ha,

Phil. I dyd wepe in dede, and so dyd Christe vpon Ierusalem, and am not to bee blamed therfore, yf you consyder the cause of my wepynge.

Morgan. What make you youre selfe Christ, ha, ha, ha.

Philpot. No syr, I make not my self Christ, but I am not ashamed to doo as my mayster and sauiour dyd, to bewayle and lament your infidelitie and ydolatry, whiche I there foresawe through tyrannye you woulde bryng a-gayn to this realme, as this day doth declare.

Morgan. That is your argument.

Christo. Wherin do we abuse the sacra-ment, tel vs?

Phil. As I may touche but one of the leaste abuses: you mynyster it not in bothe kyn-des, as you ought to doo, but keepe the one halfe from the people contrarye to Christes institution.

Chri. why, is ther not asmuch cõtained in one kynde as in bothe? and what nede is it then to minister it in bothe kindes?

Phil. I beleue not so, for yf it hadde, Christe would haue geuen but the one kynde onely: for he instituted nothynge superfluous, and therefore you can not saye, that the whole effect of the sacrament is as wel in one kynd as in both, synce the scripture techeth otherwise.

Christoforson. What yf I canne proue it by Scripture, that wee maye mynyster it in one kynde? The Apostles dydde so, as it maye appeare in the Actes of the Apostelles in one or twoo places, where it is written, that the Apostles contynued, In orationibus & fractione panis, in prayers, and in breakinge of breade, whyche is ment of the sacrament.

Phil. Why maister doctour, do you not know that saint Luke by makynge mention of the breakynge of breadde, meanethe the whole vse of the sacrament, accordynge to Christes institution? by a figure which you haue lerned in grammer Metinomia, where parte is mentioned, and the hole vnderstanded to bee doone as Christ commaunded it.

Christofor. Nay that is not so. For I cā shewe oute of Eusebius in Eccles. historia, that there was a manne of God whom he named, that sente the sacrament in one kinde by a boy to one that was sicke.

Phil. I haue redde in deede that they dydde vse to gyue that was lefte of the Communion breade, to chylderne, to maryners, and

to

to women, and so peraduenture the boy myghe
cary a piece of that was left to the sycke man.
Christofor. Nay as a sacramente it was
purposely sent vnto hym.
Philpot. If it were so, yet can you not precise
ly say, that he hadde not the cuppe ministred
vnto hym also by some other sente vnto
hym: but what thoughe one man dydde vse
it thus, yethe it folowe, that all men may doo
the lyke? Wayne Cyprian noteth many abu-
ses of the sacrament in his tyme, whiche rose
vpon syngular mens examples, as vsynge of
water in stede of wyne, wherfore he sayth, Non
respiciendum quid aliquis ante nos fecerit,
sed quid Christus qui a omnium est primus an
tea fecit & mandauit, That is, we muste not
looke what any man hath done before vs, but
what Christ fyrst of all men dyd, & cõmanded.
Christof. Hath not the churche taughte
vs so to vse the sacramente: and howe
do we knowe that Christ is, Homousios
that is, of one substaunce wyth the fa-
ther, but by the determination of the
churche: howe can you proue that o-
therwyse by expresse wordes of scrip-
ture, and wher fynde you Homousios, in
all scripture?
Phil. Yes that I doo, in the fyrste to the He-
brewes, where it is wrytten, that Christe is
the expresse ymage of Gods owne substance,
eiusdem substantiæ.
Christo. Naye that is not so, it is there
no more, but expressa imago substantiæ, &

expresse ymage of Goddes substaunce and ymage is accidence.

Phil. It is in the text, of his substance, substantiæ illius, or of his owne substance, as it may be right well interpreted. Besydes this that whyche Christ spake of hym selfe, in S. John, manifesteth the same, sayinge: I and the father be one thynge, Ego & pater vnum sumus. And where as you say Imago, here is accidentes, the auncient fathers vse this for a stronge argument, to proue Christe to bee God, bicause he is the very ymage of God.

Christofo. Yea doo: is this a good argumente, bycause we are the ymage of God, ergo we are God?

Phil. We are not called the expresse ymage of god, as it is wrytten of Christe, and we are but the ymage of God by participation, and as it is wrytten in the Genesis, we are made to the lykenes and similitude of God. But you ought to knowe, mayster Christofer son, that there is no accidentes in God, and therfore Christe can not be the ymage of God, but he must be of the same substance with god.

Christo. Tushe.

Morgan. Howe say you to the presence of the sacramente? wyll you stande to the iudgement here of your boke or no or will you recant.

Phil. I knowe you go aboute to catche me in woordes, yf you can proue the booke to be of my settyng fooryth, lay it to my charge, when I come in iudgement.

Morgan.

Morgan. Speake, be you of the same mynde as this boke is of or no: sure I am you were once, onles you become an other maner of man then you wer.

Philpot. What I was you knowe, what I am, I wyll not tell you now: but this I will say to you by the waye, that yf you can proue your sacrament of the masse (as you now vse it) to be a sacrament, I wyll than graunte you a presence: but fyrste ye muste proue the same a sacramente, and afterwarde intreate of the presence.

Morgan. Hoo, doode you doubt that it is a sacrament.

Phil. I am past doubtyng: for I beleeue you can neuer be hable to proue it a sacrament.

Christofor. Yea do: good Lord, doth not S. Austine call it the sacrament of the altare, how say you to that?

Phil. That maketh nothyng for the probation of your sacrament, for so he with other ancient writers do cal the holy cõmunion or the supper of the Lorde, in respecte that it is the sacrament of the sacrifice, whiche Christe offered vpon the auitar of the crosse, the which sacrifice all the altars and sacrifices done vpon the altars in the old lawe dyd prefygure and shadowe, the whiche pertayneth nothyng to your sacrament, hangyng vpon your altares made of lyme and stone.

Christofor. No doth: I praye you, what signifieth altar?

Phil. Not as you falsely take it materially, but for the sarifice of the altar of the crosse.

Christo. Wher find you it euer so take?

Phil. Yes that I do, in S. Paule to the Hebrues. 13. where he sayth, Habemus altare de quo non est fas edere his qui tabernaculo deseruiunt, We haue an altar, of the whiche it is not lawfull for them to eate, that serue the tabernacle. Is not altare, there taken for the sacrifice of the altare, and not for the altare of tymr and stone.?

Christoforson. Wel, god blesse me out of your company. You are suche an obstinate heretyke, as I haue not heard the lyke.

Phil. I pray god kepe me from suche blynde doctours, whiche when they are not hable to proue what they say, than they fall to blasphemyng (as you now do) for lack of better proofe.

In the meane whyle the byshoppe of London was talkynge with some other by, and at length came in to supply his parte and sayd:

London. I praye you maisters herken what I shall saye to this man: come hither maister Greene. And nowe syr (pointynge to me) you can not thynke it sufficient to be naughte youre selfe, but muste goo aboute to procure thys yong gentleman by your letters to do the like.

Phil. My lorde he canne not say, that I euer hytherto wrote vnto hym, concernynge any suche matter, as he here can testifie.

Grene. No, you neuer wrote vnto me.

London. Why, is not thys youre ler-

ter

ter which you dyd wryte concerninge him?

Phil. I haue shewed your lordshyp my mynd concernyng that letter already: It was not written to master Grene, neither he was priuye of the writeng therof.

London. Howe saye you then, yf a man be in an errour, and you knowe therof, what are you bound to doo in suche case?

Phil. I am bounde to doo the beste I can, to bryng hym out of it.

London. If maister Grene here, be in like, ar you not bound to reforme him therof yf you can?

Phil. Yes that I am, and wyll doo the vttermoste to my power therein.

The byshop remembryng hym selfe, thynkyng that he shoulde but shrewdely after his expectation, be holpen at my mouthe, but rather confirmed in that which he called an errour, cessed to procede any further in his demaunde, and called maister Grene aside, and before his Regester, redde hym a letter, I knewe not the contentes therof: and therwith all gaue maister Greene the booke of my disputation in the conuocation house. And afterwarde went aside cõmonyng with maister Christofer son, leauyng doctour Morgan, maister Harpesfield, and maister Cosyns to reason with me, in the hearing of maister Grene.

Morgan. Maister Philpot I would aske you, how olde your religion is?

Phil. It is older than yours by a thousande

yeares and mo.

Morgan. I praye you, where was it fyfty or fourtie yeares ago?

Phil. It was in Germanye apparent by the testimonies of Husse, Hierome of Prage, and Wyclesse, whom your generation a hundred yeares ago and more dyd burne for preching the truth vnto you: and before their tyme and synce hath bene, although vnder persecution it hath ben put to silence.

Morgan. That is a maruelous strange relygion which no man can tell certainly wher to fynde it.

Phil. It ought to be no meruayle vnto you, to see goddes truth through violence oppressed: for so it hath ben frome the begynnynge, from tyme to tyme, as it appereth by stories, and as Christes true religion is nowe to be founde here in Englande, although hypocrisy hath by violence the vpper hande. And in the Apocalypse you maye see, it was prophecied, that the true churche shoulde be dryuen into corners, and into wyldernes, and suffer great persecution.

Morgan. A, are you scene in the Apocalyps? ther is many straunge thinges.

Phil. If I tell you the truthe, whiche you are not hable to refell, beleue it, and daiye not out so earneste matters. We thynke you are ryther a scoffer in a playe than a reasonable doctour to instruct a man: you ar bare arsed and daunce naked in a nette, and yet you see not your owne nakednes.

Morgan rightelye painted out

Morgan. What (I praye you) be not so quick

quick with me. Let vs talk a litle more coldly together.

Phil. I wyll talk with you as myldly as you can deſyre, yf you wyll ſpeake learnedlye and charytably. But yf you go about with taunts to delude the truthe, I wylle not hyde it from you.

D. Morgan. Why will you not ſubmitte your iudgement to the learned men of this realme?

Phil. Becauſe I ſee they can bryng no good grounde, wherupon I may with a good conſcience ſettle my faythe more ſurely, than on that, whiche I am now grounded by Goddes manyfeſt woorde.

Morgan. No doode? that is meruell that ſo many learned men ſhoulde be deceaued.

Phil. It is no meruayle by S. Paule: for he ſayth, that not many wyſe, neyther many lerned after the worlde, be called to the knowlege of the goſpell.

Morgan. Haue you thē alone the ſpirite of God and not we?

Phil. I ſay not, that I alone haue the ſpirite of God, but as many as abyde in the trewe fayth of Chriſte, haue the ſpirite of God as well as I.

Morgan. How know you that you haue the ſpirite of God?

Phil. By the fayth of Chriſt which is in me.

Morgan. A, by faith, doo you ſo? I wene it be the ſpirite of the butterie, whyche

your felowes haue had, that haue ben burned before you, who were dronke the nyghte before they wente to theyr deathe, and I wene went dronken vnto it.

Phil. It appeareth by youre communication that you are better acquainted with the spirite of the buttery, thanne with the spirite of God, wherfore I muste nowe tell thee (thou paynted walle and hypocrite) in the name of the lyuyng lorde, whose truthe I haue tolde thee, that God shal rayne fyre and brymstone vpon suche scorners of his worde, and blasphemers of his people, as thou arte.

Morgan. What, you rage now.

Phil. Thy foolyshe blasphemies haue compelled the spirite of God, whiche is in me, to speake that whych I haue said vnto the, thou enemy of all rightcousnes.

Morgan. Why do you iudge me so?

Phil. By thyne owne wicked wordes I iudge of the, thou blynde and blasphemous doctor: for as it is written, by thy wordes thou shalte be iustified, and by thy wordes thou shalte be condempned, I haue spoken in Goddes behalfe, and now haue I done with the.

Morgan. Why then I tell the Phylpot, that thou arte an heretyke, and shalte be burnt for thy hereſy, and afterwardes goo to hell fyre.

Phil. I tell the, thou hypocrite, that I passe not thys, for thy fyre and fagots, neyther (I thanke God my lorde) stande in feare of the same

same: my fayth in Christ shall ouercome them But the hell fyre which thou threatnest to me, is thy porcion, and is prepared for the, onles thou spedely repent, and for such hipocrites as thou art.

Morgan. What you speake vpon wine: thou hast typled well to daye by lykelyhode.

phil. So said the cursed generation to the Apostles being replenished with the holy gost, and speaking the wonderous workes of God they sayd they were dronke when they had nothing els to say, as thou doest nowe.

Morgan. Why I am hable to answere the ywys, I trowe.

philpot. So it semeth with blasphemies and lyes.

Morgan. Nay euen with learning, saye what thou canst.

phil. That appeared well at my disputacion in the conuocation house, where thou tokeste vpon the, those few argumentes I was permitted to make, and yet wast not hable to answere one, but in thyne answeres diddest foumble and wonder, that the hole house was ashamed of the. And thy fynall conclusyon of all thyne answeres was, that thou couldest answere me, yf I were in the scoles at Oxforde.

Morgan. What dydde I so: thou belyest me.

Phil. I doo not belye thee, the boke of the reporte of the disputation beareth recorde thereto, and all that were present can telle (yf they lyst) thou saydest so. And I telle thee playne,

thou

thou arte not hable to aunswere the spy-
rite of truthe. whiche speaketh in me, for the
defence of Christes true religion. I am ha-
ble (by the might therof) to dryue thee round
about this gallary before me. And yf it wolde
please the Quenes maiestie and her counsell
to heare thee and me, I would make thee for
shame shrynke behynd the doore.

Morgan. Yea, would you so lo?

Phil. Thou hast the spirite of illusion and so-
phistrie, whiche is not hable to counteruayle
the spirite of truthe. Thou art but an asse in
the true vnderstandyng of thynges pertay-
nyng vnto God. I call the asse, not in respect
of malice, but in that thou kickest against the
truthe, and arte voyde of all godly vnderstan
dyng, not able to answere to that thou brag-
gest in.

Morgan. Why, haue I not aunswered
the in all thinges thou hast sayde vnto
me? I take them to recorde.

Phil. Aske of my felowe whether I be a theke

Cosins. Hearke he maketh vs al theues

Philpot. You knowe the phrase of that pro-
uerbe, that lyke will holde with lyke. And I
am sure, you will not iudge with me agaynst
hym, speake I neuer so trewe. And in this
sense I speake it: the strongest aunswere that
he hathe made agaynste me, is, that you wyll
burne me.

Morgan. Why, we doo not burne you,
it is the tempozal men that burne you
and not we.

Phil. Thus you would (as Pylate dydde)

washe

washe your handes of al your wicked doings. But I pray you inuocate seculare brachium, Call vpon the secular power to be executioners of your vnrighteous iudgementes. And haue you not a title in your lawe, De hæreticis comburenais, for to burne heretikes?

Harpef. I haue heard you both a good whyle reason together, and I neuer heard so stoute an heretike as you are, maister Philpot.

Cosins. Neither I in al my lyfe.

Phil. You are not hable to proue me an heretike, by one iote of Goddes worde.

Harpef. You haue the spirite of arrogācye, I wyll reason wyth you no more And so he was departing and M. Cosins also. And with that the bishop and Christofforson came in agayne, & sayd.

London. M. D. howe doth this man and you agree?

Morg. My lorde, I doo aske him where his churches was fyfty yeares ago.

London. Are you not halfe agreed, as one man sayd ones to tway partes, of whome the one was equallye disagreyng from the other.

Christo. My lorde, it is but folye to reason with him any further: your lordeship shall but lose tyme, for he is incurable.

London. Well then, let hys keper haue hym

him away. And with that D. Chadsey led me a waye by the whiche we could not passe and therefore came backe agayne through the bishops chamber, where al these doctours were clustred together. And as I was passing, the bishop toke me by the gown, and said, Wot you what D. Christoforson telleth me? I praye you (D. Christoforsō) rehearse the sentence in latin. And so he dyd, the contentes wherof was that an heretike would not be wonne.

Christo. S. Paul sayeth, Hæreticum hominem post vnam atque alteram admonitionem deuita, Flee an heretyke after once or twyse warninge.

All the Doc. Yea my lorde, it is best you so doo, and trouble your lordshippe no more with him.

Philpot. You must fyrst proue me iustly to be an heretike, before you vse the iudgement of S. Paule agaynst me: for he speaketh of such as holde opinion agaynst the manyfest word, the whiche you can not proue by me. And bycause you want in your profe, and be hable to proue nothyng againste me, therfore you go about falsely to suppose me to bee an heretike, for the safegarde of your owne counterfayte honesties. But afore God you are the heretikes, whiche so stoutly and stubburnly maynteyne so many thynges directly agaynst godes woorde, as God in his tyme shall reuele.

As

As I went out of his chamber, the bishop cal-
led me aside, and sayd:

London. I praye the in good sadnes, what meanest thou by writyng in the beginning of thy Bible: Spiritus est vicarius Christi in terris, the spirit is the vicar of Christ on the earth. I wis you haue some speciall meanyng therof.

Phil. My lorde, I haue none other meanyng, but as I haue tolde you already, that Christe sence his ascension worketh all thynges in vs by his spirite, and by his spirite dothe dwelle in vs. I pray you my lorde, lette me haue my Bible, with other lawfull bokes and writynges, whiche you haue of myne: whereof many of them bee none of myne, but lente to me by my frendes.

London. Youre Byble you shall not haue, but I wyll perhappes lette you haue an other: and after I haue perused the reste, you shall haue suche as I thynke good.

Phil. I pray your lordshyppe than, that you would let me haue candell light.

London. To what purpose, I pray you?

Phil. The nyghtes be long, and I wold fayn occupy my selfe about somwhat, & not spende my tyme ydelly.

London. You may then praye.

Phil. I can not wel say many prayers without lyght.

London. Can you not saye your pater noster, without a candell? I tell you syr, you

you ſhall haue ſome meate and drinke of me. but candell you get none.

Philpot. I hadde leauer haue a candell then your meate or drynke: but ſeynge I ſhall not haue my requeſt, the Lorde ſhall be my lyght.

London. Haue hym downe.

Chadſey. I wyl bryng hym to his keper my lorde. Mayſter Philpot I wonder that all theſe learned men whome you haue talked withall this daye, can nothynge perſuade you.

Phil. Why maſter D. woulde you haue me to be perſuaded with nothynge? Or woulde you haue me buylde my fayth vpon ſande? What doo you all bryng, wherby I ought by a ſufficient auctoritie to be perſuaded vnto you.

Chadſey. I am ſory you wil ſo wilfully caſte awaye your ſelfe, where as you myght lyue worſhipfully: do you not thynke other haue ſowles to ſaue as well as you haue?

Phil. Euery man ſhall receaue accordyng to his owne doynges, ſure I am, you are deceiued, and mayntayne a falſe religion: and as for my caſtyng away, I would my burnynge daye were to morowe, for this delaye is euery day to dye, and yet not to be dead.

Chadſey. You are not lyke to dye yet, I can tell you.

Philpot. I am the more ſory therfore. But the will of God be done on me, to his glorye. Amen.

The

The examination of Iohn Philpot on wednesday the. 4. day of December, before the bishop of London the bishop of VVorcester, and the bishop of Bangor.

IN the morning I was set downe to the wardrope adioynyng to the chapell, and within a whyle after, came thre of the byshops chaplaynes vnto me, sayeng:

B. Chap. Maister Phylpot my lorde hath sent vs vnto you, to desire you to come to masse, certifyeng you, that there is a doctor of diuinytye, a chaplayne of my lordes, a notable learned man called doctour Chadsey, goynge to masse. Therfore we also praye you (good M. Philpot) be content to come: it is euen harde hereby.

Phil. I wonder my lorde would trouble you in sendyng you about this matter, seeyng he knoweth I am a man by your lawe, that can not here masse, bycause I stande excommunicate.

B. Chap. Youre excommunication is vpon but a contumacy, and my lord wil dispense with you, yf you wil come.

Phil. My lorde can not, for he is not myn ordinary. and I wyll not seke any suche thyng at his handes. With this answere they went their waye. And after Masse, the B. called

me before hym into his chapell, and there in the presence of his regester (after he had said his mynd, because I would not come to masse) recited the articles, which he often tymes before had done in that behalfe, with the depositions of the witnesses, of whome some were not examined.

London. Syr, what can you nowe saye why I shoulde not procede to geue sentence against the, as an heretyke?

Phil. Why my lorde, wyl you procede to geue sentence agaynst me, before youre wytnesses bee examined, that is playne agaynste youre owne lawe, as all your doynges haue beene hytherto.

London. See what a foole thou arte in the lawe, I neede not receyte the depositions of the witnesse, but yf I lyste. For I knowe theym welle ynough alreadye.

Phil. It appeareth in deede, you maye doo what you lyste.

London. Tell me I saye, whether thou wilte aunswere or no: and whether yf thou were absolued of thyne excommunication, thou wouldest come to masse or no?

Phil. I haue answered as muche as I entende to doo, vntyll I be called to lawfull iudgement: and as concernyng my conscience, I wyll not make you God to sytte there as yet: It is Goddes part onely to be the searcher of the heart.

Art

London. Loke how folishly he speaketh Arte thou God: and yet doest thou not sytte in thyne owne conscience?

Phil. I sit not in myne owne conscience: but I knowe it, and God there only oughte to sit and no man else.

London. Thou arte a naughty felowe, and haste done muche hurte, and haste seduced other poore felowes here in prison with the, by thy comfortyng of them in their errours, and haste made them reioyse and synge with thee.

phil. Yea my lorde, we shall synge, when you and suche as you are, shall crye, Væ, Væ, wo, wo, except you repent.

London. What an arrogant foole this is? I wyl handle thee like an heretike, and that shortly.

Phil. I feare nothynge (I thanke God) you can do vnto me. But God shall destroye such as thou arte, and that shortly as I trust.

London. Haue hym awaye, this is a knaue in dede.

Phil. And I was had into the warderobe agayne by my keper, and within an howre after was sente for to come before hym, and the byshops of Worcester, and Bangor.

London. Syr, I haue talked with you manye tymes, and haue caused you to bee talked with all of many learned men, yea and honourable bothe temporall and spirituall, and yet it anay-

leth nothinge wyth you. I am blamed that I haue brought thee afore so many, for they saye thou gloryest to haue many to talke withall. Well, nowe it lyeth the vpon to loke to thy selfe, for thy tyme draweth nere to an ende, yf thou be not become conformable. And at thys presente we are sente from the synod, to offer you thys grace, that yf you wil come to the vnitie of the churche of Rome with vs, and aknowlege the reall presence of Christe in the sacramente of the altare, wyth vs: all that is paste shal be forgeuen, and you receyued to fauour.

VVor. M. Phylpot, we are sent (as you here haue heard by my lord of Lond) from the synode to offer you mercy, yf you wil receiue it. And of good wyll I beare you, I wishe you to take it whyles it is offred: and be not a singular man against a whole multitude of lerned men, whiche now in fastinge and prayer are gathered togyther, to ymagine thynges to doo you good. There haue manye learned men talked wyth you: why shulde you thynke your selfe better learned than them all: be not of suche arrogancy, but haue humilitie, and remember there is no saluacion,

but

but in the churche.

Bangor. Me thynketh my lorde hathe sayde wounderfullye welle vnto you, that you shoulde not thynke your selfe so welle learned, but other men are as wel learned as you, neither of so good wyt, but other be as wise as you, neyther of so good memorye, but other haue as good memorye as you. Therefore mystrust your owne iudgement, and comme home to vs agayne. Iwis I neuer lyked youre religion, bycause it was set forth by violence and tyrranny, and that is no token of true religion. And I was that same maner of manne then that I am nowe, and a greate meanye moo: Marye, for feare we helde oure peace, and bare wyth the tyme: wherefore maister Philpot, I woulde you dyd wel, for I loue you, and therfore be content to come home wyth vs again, into the catholike churche of Rome.

The same token proueth your religion false.

Philpot. Where my lorde as I maye begyn fyrst to answere you, that you say that religion is to be myslyked, whiche is sette forthe by tyrranny. I pray God you giue not men occasion to thinke the same by yours at this day, whiche hathe none other argument to stande by, but violence. If you can shewe me by any good sufficient ground, wherby to ground

my conſcience, that the churche of Rome is the true catholike churche, wherunto you cal me, I wyll gladly be of the ſame: otherwyſe I canne not ſoone chaunge the religion, I haue learned theſe many yeares.

Bangor. Where was youre religion (I pray you) a hundred yeares ago, that any man knewe of it.

Phil. It was in Germany and in dyuers other places apparent.

VVorceſt Jeſus, will you be ſtill ſo ſingular a man, what is Germany to the hole worlde?

London. My lordes, I pray you geue me leaue to telle you, that I ſente for hym to heare maſſe this morning, and wote you what excuſe he made vnto me? forſothe that he was accurſed, alledgynge his owne ſhame. He playeth as that barlet Latymer dyd at Cambridge, when the vice Chauncellour ſent for hym (who entended to haue excommunicated hym for ſom of his hereſies) and the chauncellour was comming to his chamber, whiche as ſone as he herde that the chauncellour was come, made anſwer that he was ſicke of the plague, and ſo deluded the chancellour: euen ſo this man ſaieth, he is accurſed, becauſe he will not comme to maſſe.

Hark how fine my lorde is in dogges eloquence. If he hadde come to Maſſe he had ben curſed in dede.

Wor.

VVorceſter. My Lorde (I am ſure) here dothe behaue hym ſelfe lyke a father vnto you, therefore be admonyſhed by hym, and by vs that come now frendlye vnto you, and folowe your fathers before you.

Phil. It is forbidden vs of God, by the prophet Ezechiell to folowe our fathers, neyther to walke in their commaundementes

VVorceſt. It is written alſo in an other place, interroga patres, aſke of youre fathers.

Phil. We oughte to aſke in dede our fathers that haue more experience & knowelage then we of Goddes wil, but nomore to allow them then we perceaue they agree wyth the ſcriptures.

VVorce. You wilbe a contentious man I ſee well: and S. Paule ſayethe that we, neither the church of God haue no ſuche cuſtome.

Phil. I am not contentious, but for the veritye of my fayth in the whiche I oughte to contende with al ſuche as doo impugne the ſame without any iuſt obiection.

VVorce. Let vs ryſe my lorde, for I ſee we ſhal do no good.

London. May I pray you tary, and hear the artycles I laye to hys charge, and after he hadde recited them, they aroſe and afterwarde ſtandynge they reaſoned with me a whyle.

VVorce. M. Philpot, I am verye sorye that you wyll be so singular. I neuer talked with none yet of my dioces, but after ones communication had with me, they haue ben contented to reuoke their errours, and to teache the people howe they were deceaued, and so doo muche good, as you may if you liste. For as I vnderstande, you were archdeacon of Winchester, (whiche is the eye of the bishop) and you may do muche good, in the countrey, if you wold forsake your errours, and come to the catholike churche.

Phil. Wherewythall you so sone persuaded them to your will. I see not. Errour that I know, I hold none, and of the catholike churche I am sure I am.

VVorce. The Catholike church doth acknowlege a reall presence of Christ in the sacrament, and so will not you.

Phil. That is not so. For I acknowlage a verye essential presence in the sacramente duely vsed.

VVorce. What a reall presence?

Phil. Yea a real presence by the spirit of God in the ryght administration.

VVorce. That is well sayde, and do you agree with the catholike churche also?

Phil. I doo agre with the true catholike churche.

VVorce. My lordes of London, this man speaketh

speaketh reasonably nowe.

London. You doo agree in generalties But when it shall come to the particularities, you will farre disagree.

VVorce. Wel, kepe your selfe here, and you shall haue other lerned byshops to common farther with you, as my lord of Duresme, & my lord of Chichester, (whom I here say) you do lyke well.

Phil. I do like them as I doo all other that speaketh the truth. I haue once already spoken with them, and they founde no fault with me.

VVorce. Praye in the meane season for grace to god.

Phil. Prayer is the comfortablest exercise I fele in my trouble, & my conscience is quiet, and I haue the peace of mynde, whiche can not bee the fruites of heresy.

VVorce. We wyll bydde you farewell for this tyme.

Phil. After dyner, they called for me agayne, and demaunded of me, whether I ment, as I spake before dyner, and not go frome it: to whom I answered, that I wolde not go from that I had sayde.

VVorce. You said at my departinge frō you before dinner, that yf we did burn you, we shoulde bourne a Catholyke man. Wil you be a catholike man and stande to the catholike churche?

Philpot. I wyll stande to the true catholyke churche.

churche.

VVorce. Will you stand to the catholike churche of Rome?

Phil. If you can proue the same to be the catholike churche, I wyll be one therof.

VVorce. Dyd not Christ saye vnto Peter and to all hys successours of Rome Pasce oues meas, pasce agnos meos, Fede my shepe, fede my lambes, which doth signifye, that he gaue him more auctoritie than the rest.

Phil. That sayeng pertayneth nothyng to the authoritie of Peter aboue others, but declareth what Christe requireth of his beloued Apostles, that they should with all diligence preache to the flocke of Christe, the waye of saluation, and that doth the iteration of feedynge, spoken to Peter onely signifie. But the byshoppe of Rome lytteli regardeth this spirituall feedynge, and therefore he hath imagyned an easyer waye, to make hym selfe lorde of the whole worlde, yea and of Goddes worde to, and doothe not fede Christs flocke, as Peter dyd.

VVorcest. Howe can you tell that?

Phil. Yes I haue ben there, and I could not learne of all his countreye men, that euer he preacheth.

VVorcest. Though he preached not one way, he preacheth an other, by procuryng good order for the churche to bee kepte in.

Phil. I am sure that it wyll be his damnati-

on

on beefore God, that he leaueth that he is commanded of Chriſt, and ſetteth foorth his owne decrees, to deface the goſpel.

VVorceſt. It is the euyl liuyng that you haue ſeene at Rome, that cauſeth you to haue this yl iudgement of the churche of Rome. I can not now tary with you to reaſon further of this matter. How ſay you to the reall preſẽce of the ſacrament? wyll ye ſtande to that?

Phil. I do acknowlage (as I haue ſayd) a real preſence of the ſacramente in the dewe adminiſtration therof, to the worthy receauers by the ſpirite of God.

VVor. You adde now a greatmeiny mo wordes then you did before, yet you ſay more of the ſacramente then a greate meiny wyll do. Thus they departed.

After them came in to me, D. Chadſey and D. Wright Archedeacon of Oxford, with a great meany mo.

Chadſey. MAyſter Philpot here is mayſter Archedeacon of Oxforde com to you, to gyue you good councell, I praye you heare hym.

Philpot. I wyll refuſe to heare none that wyl councell me any good, and yf any can bryng any matter better than I haue, I wyll sticke therunto.

VVright. I woulde wyſhe you (maiſter Philpot) to agree wyth the catholyke church

churche, and not to ſtand in your owne conceyte, you ſee a great meiny of lerned men agaynſt you.

Phil. I am (maiſter doctor) of the vnfayned catholike churche, and wyll lyue and dye ther in: and yf you can proue your church to be the true catholyke churche, I wyll be one of the ſame.

VVright I cam not to diſpute with you but to erhort you, here be better learned than I, that can enforme you better than I.

Chadſey. What proofe woulde you haue? I wyll proue vntoyou our churche to haue his beyng and foundation by the ſcriptures, by the Apoſtles, and by the primatiue churche, confirmed with the bloud of martyrs, and the teſtimony of all confeſſours.

Thy harte knovveth that thy mouth lyeth. Chadſey.

Philpot. Giue me your hande, maiſter doctor proue that, and haue with you.

Chadſey. If I had my bookes here, I could ſoone proue it. I wyl go fet ſom. and with that he went and fet his boke of annotations, ſayenge, I canne not bring my bokes wel. Therfore I haue brought my boke of annotacions And turned there to a common place of the ſacramēt, aſkinge me whether the catholike churche did not allowe the preſens of chriſtes body in the ſacrament

or no? I heare say you do confesse a real presence, but I wilbe hanged if you wyll abyde by it, you wyll denye it by and by.

Hangyng is to good for the.

Philpot. That I haue sayd I cannot denye, neither intend not what soeuer you saye.

Chadsey. If there be a reall presence in the sacrament, then euyll men receyue christ: which thing you wil not graunt I am sure.

Phil. I denie the argumente. For I doo not graunt in the sacrament, by transubstantiation any real presence, as you falsely ymagin But in the dewe administration to the worthy receyuers.

Chadsey. I wil proue that the euyll and wicked men eate the body of Christe, as well as the good men, by S. Austin here.

Phil. And in the begynnyng of this text, S. Austine seemed to approue his assertion, but I badde him reade out to the ende, and there S. Austin declareth that it was quodā modo after a certayn maner, the euill men receiued the body of Christe, whiche is sacramentally onely, in the vtter signes, and not really, or in dede, as the good doothe. And thus all the doctours, that you seeme to bryng in for your purpose, be quite agaynst you, yt you dyde vpryghtly way them.

Chadsey. By god you are a subtil felow see howe he wculde wrythe layne Austines wordes.

Phil. See who of vs wryteth S. Austine more, you or I, whiche take his meanyng by his owne expresse woordes. And seynge you charge me of subtiltie, what subtiltye is this of you to say that you will proue your matter of the churche, euen from the beginning, pro mysyng to shew your bokes therin, and when it commeth to the shewynge, you are hable to shewe none, and for want of proofe flyppe in to a bye matter, and yet faynte in the proofe thereof. Ifore God you are bare arste in all your religyon.

Chadsey. You shall be constrayned to comme to vs at lengthe, whether you will or no.

Philpot. Holde that argument faste: for that is the beste you haue, for you haue nothynge but violence.

The thursday after I was called in the mornyng before the Archebyshop of Yorke, the B. of Chichester, the byshop of Bath, and the B. of London, the B. of Chichester beyng fyrst come, began to talke with me.

Chicester. I Am come of good will, to talke with you, to instruct you what I can, to come to the catholyke churche, and to wyl you to mystruste your owne iudgement, and to learne fyrste to haue humilitie, and by the same to learne of others, that bee better learned then you, as they dyd

learne

learne of ſuche as were their betters beforе them.

Phil. We muſt be all taught of God, and I wyll with all humilitie, learne of theym that wyll enſourme me by Goddes woorde, what I haue to doo. I confeſſe I haue but lyttell learnynge in reſpecte of you, that bothe for your yeares and great exercyſe, dooe excelle therein: but fayth conſyſteth not onely in iernyng, but in ſimplicitie of beleuyng that whyche Goddes woorde teacheth, therfore I wyll be glad to heare both of your lordeſhyp, or of any other, that god hath reueled vnto by his woorde, the true doctrine thereof, and thanke you, that it doothe pleaſe you to take paynes herein.

Chicheſter. You take that kynde alledged amyſſe, as though all men ſhould bee taughte by inſpiration, and not by learnyng. Howe do we beleue the Goſpel, but by the authoritie of the churche, and bycauſe the ſame hathe allowed it.

Philpot. Sayncte Paule ſayeth, he learned not the goſpell by menne, neither of men, but by the reuelation of Jeſus Chriſte: whyche is a ſufficient proofe, that the goſpell taketh not his authoritie of manne, but of God onelye.

Chicheſt. S. Paule ſpeaketh but of his owne knowlege, how he came therto.

Philpot. Nay he ſpeaketh of the goſpell generallye, whyche commeth not from manne,

but

but from God, and that the church must only teache that which commeth from God, and not mans preceptes.

Chichef. Doeth not S. Austine saye, I woulde not beleue the Gospell, yf the authoritie of the churche did not moue me therto.

Philpot. I graunt that the authoritie of the churche doth moue the vnbeleuers to beleue, but yet the churche geueth not the worde his authoritie: for the woorde hathe his authoritie onely from God, and not of man. Men be but disposers therof, for fyrste the woorde hath his beeyng before the churche, and the worde is the foundation of the churche, and fyrst is the foundation sure, before the buyldyng theron can be stedfast.

Chichef. I perceaue you mistake me, I speake of the knowlage of the Gospel, and not of the authority: for by the churche we haue all knowlage of the Gospel.

Phil. I confesse that: For fayth commeth by hearyng, and hearyng by the worde: and I acknowledge, that God appoynteth an ordinarye meanes for men to come vnto knowledge nowe, and not miraculously, as he hath don in tymes paste, yet we that be taught by men must take hede, that we learne nothynge elfe but that whiche was taught in the primatiue churche by reuelation. Here came in the B. of Yorke, and the bishop of Bathe, and after they had saluted one an one other, and commoned a while together, the archbishop of Yorke

called

me vnto them, sayeng:

Yorke. Syr we hearynge that you are out of the waye, are come of charitie to enforme you, and to bryng you into the true faithe, & to the catholike churche agayne, willyng you fyrst to haue humilitie, and to be humble, and willyng to learne of your betters, for else we canne doo no good with you: and God sayth by the Prophet, On whom shall I reste but on the humble and meke, & such as tremble at my worde. Nowe yf you wyll so be, we wyll bee gladde to trauayle with you.

Phil. I know that humilitie is the dore wher by we entre into Chryste, and I thanke hys goodnesse, I haue entred in at the same vnto him, and wil with all humilitie heare whatsoeuer truth you shal speake vnto me.

Yorke. What be the matters you stand on, and require to be satisfied?

Phil. My lorde and it please youre grace, we wer entred in a good matter before you came of the churche, and how we shoulde knowe the truth, but by the churche.

Yorke. In deede that is the heade, we nede to begynne at: for the churche beynge truely knowen, we shall sooner agree in the particular thynges.

Phil. Yf your lordships can proue the churche of Rome, to be the true catholike churche it shall do muche to persuade me toward that

that you would haue me incline vnto.

Yorke. Why, let vs goo to the definition of the churche, what is it?

Philpot. It is a congregation of people dispersed through the worlde, agreyng togyther in the worde of God, vsyng the sacramentes, and all other thinges accordynge to the same.

Yorke. This definition is of many wordes, to no purpose.

Phil. I doo not precisely diffyne the churche, but declare vnto you what I thinke the churches.

Yorke. Is the churche visible or inuisible?

Phil. It is both visible and inuisible: the inuisible churche is of all the electes of God onely, the visible consisteth of both good and badde, vsyng all thynges in fayth accordyng to Goddes worde.

Yorke The church is an vniuersal congregation of faithfull people in Christ through the worlde, which this worde catholik doth well expresse: for what is catholike elles, doth it not signifie vniuersal?

Phil. The churche is defyned by S. Austin, to be called catholike in this wyse: Ecclesia ideo dicitur catholica, quia vniuersaliter perfecta est & in nullo claudicat, The churche is called therfore catholike, because it is thoroughly perfect, and halteth in nothynge.

Yorke. Naye it is called catholyke, bycause it is vniuersallye receyued of

all

all Chrystian nations, for the mooste parte.

Philpot. The churche was catholyke in the Apostles tyme, yet was it not vniuersally receyued of the worlde: but because theyr doctrine whiche they had receyued of Christe, was perfect, and appoynted to bee preached and receyued of the whole worlde, therfore it is called the catholike faythe, and all persons receyuyng the same, be to be counted the catholyke churche. And saincte Austine in an other place writeth ad Neophitos, that the catholike churche is that, whiche beleueth a ryghte.

York. If you will learne, I wyll shew you by S. Austine, writinge agaynste the Donatistes, that he proueth the catholik churche by two principall pointes, which is vniuersalitie, and succession of byshoppes in one apostolycall sea from tyme to tyme. Now thus wil I make myne argument. The church of Rome is vniuersall, and hath hadde his succession of bishops from tyme to tyme. Ergo it is the catholike church, how answere you to this argument?

Phil. I deny the antecedent. That the catholyke churche is onely knowen by vniuersalitie, and by succession of byshops.

York. I wil proue it. And with that he brought forth a boke, whiche he hadde noted out of the doctors, and turned to

his common places therin of the chur che, and recited one or two out of saint Austine, and specially oute of his epi stle written agaynste the Donatistes.

Here S. Austine manyfestly proueth, that the Donatistes wer not the catho like churche, bycause they had no suc cession of bysshops in their opinion, nei ther vniuersalitie, and the same force hath saynte Augustines argument a gaynst you.

Phil. My lorde I haue waged the force of that argument before now, And I perceiue it ma keth nothing agaynst me. neyther it commeth to your purpose: for I wyll stand to the try all of S. Austyne, for the approbation of the catholike churche wherof I am. For S. Au stine speaketh of vniuersalitie, ioyned with veritie, and of faythfull successoures of Pe ter, before corruption came into the church, and so yf you can deduce your argument for the sea of Rome nowe as S. Austine might doo in his tyme, I would say it myght bee of some force, otherwyse not.

Yorke S. Austine proueth the catholike churche, principally by succession of bi shopes, and therefore you vnderstande not S. Auskyne: for what I praye you was the opinyon of the Donatistes a gainste whome he wrote, can you tell what countrey were they of?

Phil. They were a certayne secte of men, al

fra

ſprynge amonge other hereſies, that the dignitie of the ſacramentes, depended vppon the worthynes of the miniſter: ſo that yf the miniſter were good, the ſacrament whiche he miniſtred were auayable or els not.

Chicheſter. That was their errour, and they had none other, but that. And he red an other authoritie of S. Auſtines out of a boke, whyche he broughte euen to the ſame purpoſe, that the other was.

Phil. I chalenge S. Auſtine to bee with me throughly in this poynte. and wyll ſtande to his iudgemente, takynge one place with an other.

Chiche. If you wil not haue the church to be certaine, I praye you by whome will you be iudged in matters of controuerſy.

Phil. I doo not denye the churche to bee certayne: but I deny that it is neceſſaryly tied to any place, longer than it abydeth in the worde, and for all maner of controuerſies the woorde ought to be iudge.

Chiche. But what yf I take it one way and you an other, howe than?

Phil. Sainte Auſtine ſheweth a remedy for that, and wylleth quod vnius locus per plura intelligi debeat, that one place of the ſcripture ought to be vnderſtanded by the mo.

Yorke. How anſwere you to this argument? Rome hathe a knowen ſucceſſion of biſhops whych your church hath

not, Ergo that is the catholike church and yours is not, bycause there is no such succession can be proued for your churche.

Phil. I deny (my lord) that succession of bishops is an infallible point to know the churche by: for there may be a succession of bishops knowen in a place, and yet there be no churche, as at Antioche and at Jerusalem, and in other places, where the apostles abode as wel as at Rome. But if you put to the succession of bishops, succession of doctrine withall (as S. Austine doth) I will graunt it to be a good proofe for the catholike churche, but a local succession onely is nothyng auayable.

Yorke. You will haue no churche then I se wel.

Phil. yes my lorde, I acknowledge the catholike church, as I am bound by my Crede but I can not acknowledge a false churche for the true.

Chicheſt. Why is there twoo catholyke churches then?

Phil. No, I know there is but one catholike church, but there haue ben and be at this present, that take vpon them the name of Christ, and of his churche, whiche be not so in dede, as it is wrytten, that there be that call theym selues Apostles, and be not so in deede, but the synagoge of Sathan and lyers. And now it is with vs, as it was with the two women in Salomons tyme, whiche lay together, and the one suppressed her chylde, and after went about to chalenge the true mothers chylde.

Chi.

Chicheſter. What a bablynge here is with you nowe? I ſee you lacke humilitie, you will go aboute to teache, and not to learne.

Philpot. My lordes, I muſte deſire you to beare with my haſty ſpeeche, it is my infirmitie of nature, al that I ſpeake, is to learne by, I woulde you dyde vnderſtande all my mynde, that I myght be ſatiſfied by you thorough better authoritie.

Chicheſter. My lorde, and it pleaſe your grace, tourne the argumente vpon hym whyche you haue made, and lette hym ſhewe the ſucceſſion of biſhoppes of his churche, as we can doo. Howe ſay you? can you ſhewe the ſucceſſion of byſhops in your church from tyme to tyme? I tell you, this argumente troubled doctour Ridley ſo ſore, that he coulde neuer aunſwere it. Yet he was a man welle learned, I dare ſaye you wyll ſaye.

Phil. He was was a man ſo learned, that I was not worthy to carye his bookes for learnynge.

Chicheſter. I promyſe you, he was neuer able to aunſwere that, he was a man that I loued well, and he me. For he camme vnto me dyuers tymes beynge in priſon, and conferred with me.

Philpot. I wonder my lorde you ſhuld make this argument, whiche you woulde turne vpon me, for the trial of my churche, wherof I am, or that you woulde make byſhop Ridley ſo ignorant, that he was not hable to anſwer it, ſynce it is of no force. For beholde, fyrſte I denied you that local ſucceſſion of biſhops in one place is no neceſſarye poynte alone to proue the Catholike churche by, and that which I haue denied, you can not proue, and is it then reaſon that you ſhoulde put me to the tryall of that whiche by you is vnproued and of no force to conclude agaynſt me.

Chicheſ. I ſee my lordes we do but loſe our laboures, to reaſon wyth hym, he taketh him ſelf better learned than we

Phil. I take vppon me the name of no learnyng, I boaſte of no knowlage, but of faythe and of Chriſt, and that I am bound vndoutedly to knowe, as I am ſure I doo.

Chicheſter. Theſe heretykes take vpon them to be ſure of al things they ſtand in, you ſhould ſaye rather with humilitie I truſt I knowe Chriſte, than that you be ſure therof.

Philpot. Let hym doubt of his faythe that lyſteth: God gyue me always grace to beleue that I am ſure of his faythe and fauoure in Chriſte.

Bathe. Howe wyll you be hable to anſwer heretikes, but by the determinacion of the knowen catholike churche?

Philpot. I am able to anſwere all heretikes by the worde of God, and conuince theym by

the

the same.

Chiches. Howe arrogauntly that is spoken? I dare not say so.

Phil. My lorde I praye you beare with me, for I am bolde in the truth syde, and I speke somewhat by experience, that I haue hadde with heretikes, and I knowe the Arrians be the subtilleſt that euer were, and yet haue I manyfeſt ſcriptures to beate theim downe withall.

Chiches. I perceaue nowe you are the same maner of man I haue hearde of, whyche wyll not be ſatisfyed by learnyng.

Phil. Alas my lorde, why doo you say so? I doo deſyre moſt humbly to be taught, if there be any better way, that I ſhoulde learne, and hytherto you haue ſhewed me no better. Therfore I praye your lordeshyp, not to miſiudge without a cauſe.

Bathe. If you be the true catholike church, than will you holde wyth the reall preſence of Chriſte in the ſacramente, whych the true church hath euer maintayned.

Phil. And I (my lorde) with the true churche doo holde the ſame in the dewe miniſtration of the ſacramente, but I deſyre you my lorde, there may be made a better concluſion in our fyrſt matter, before we enter into any other, for yf the churche bee proued, we ſhall ſoone agree in the reſte. In this mean whtle my lorde of Yorke was tournynge his booke for mo places to healpe foorth his cauſe.

Yorke.

Yorke. I haue founde at length a very notable place, whiche I haue loked for all this while of S. Austine, De simplicitate credendi.

Chichester. It is but folly (my lord) that your grace do reade hym any mo places, for he esteemeth them not.

Philpot. I esteeme theym in as muche as they be of force, as your lordship dothe heare me denye no doctours you bring, but require the true application of theym, accordinge to the writers meanynge, as by his owne woordes I do proue

Yorke. I wyll reade hym the place, and so make an ende. After he badde redde the sentence he sayd, that by foure speciall pointes here Saint Austine proueth the catholike churche. The firste is by the consent of all nations, the seconde by the Apostolike sea, the thirde by vniuersalitie, and the fourthe by this woorde Catholike.

Chichester. That is a notable place in dede, and please your grace.

Phil. I praye you my lorde, of what churche doth S. Austine wrpte the same: of Rome or not?

Yorke. Yea he writeth it, of the church of Rome.

Phil. I will laye wyth your lordshyp as much as I can make, it is not so. And let the boke be sene.

Bathe.

Bathe. What arte thou able to lay, that haste nothyng?

Yorke. Dothe he not make mention here of the apostolyke sea, whereby he meaneth Rome.

Phil. That is verye straytely interpreted my lorde, as though the Apostolike sea had bene no where els but at Rome. But lette it bee Rome, and yet shalt you neuer verifye the same, onles all the other conditions doo goe therwith, as S. Austine dothe procede withall, whereof none except the Apostolike sea, can nowe be verified of the churche of Rome. For the faythe whyche that sea nowe maynetayneth, hath not the consent of all nations, neyther euer had, besydes that it can not haue the name of catholike, because it differeth from the catholike churches, whiche the apostles planted almoste in all thynges.

Yorke. May he goth about here to proue the catholike churche by vniuersalitie And how can you shewe your church to be vniuersall fyfty or an hundred yeres ago?

Philpot. That is not materiall, neither any thyng agaynst S. Austine. For my churche wherof I am) were to be counted vniuersal, though it were but in x. persones, because it agreeth with the same, that the Apostles vniuersally did plant.

Yorke. I perceyue you are an obstinate manne in your opinion, and wyll not

not be taught. Wherfore it is but lofte labour to talke with you any longer, you are a member to be cut of.

Chicheſt. I haue heard of you before, howe you troubled the good byſhop of Wincheſter before, and nowe I ſee in you, that I haue heard.

Phil. I truſte you ſee no euyll in me by this, I deſyre of you a ſure grounde to buylde my fayth on, and yf you ſhewe me none, I praye you ſpeake not yll of hym that meaneth well.

Chicheſt. Thou art an impudent felow as I haue commoned withal!

Phil. That is ſpoken vncharitably my lorde, to blaſpheme hym whome you can not iuſtely reproue.

Chicheſt. Why you are not God, blaſphemye is counted a rebuke, to Godwarde, and not to man.

Phil. Yes it may be aſwell verified of an infamy layde to man, ſpeakyng in Gods cauſe, as you nowe doo laye vnto me for ſpeakynge freely the truth afore God, to mayntayn your vayne relygion, you are voyde of all good grounde. I perceyue you are blynde guydes and leaders of the blynde, and therefore as I am bounde to tell you, very hypocrites, tyrannouſly perſecutynge the truthe, whyche other wyſe by iuſte order you are hable to doo by no meanes. Your owne doctours and teſtimonies whyche you bryng bee euidently agaynſte you, and yet you wylle not ſee the truthe.

Chi-

Chichester. Haue we this thanke for our good will, comming to instructe the?

Philpot. My lordes, you muste beare with me, synce I speake in Christes cause, and bicause his glorye is defaced, and his people cruelly and wrongefully slayne by you, bycause they wyll not consente to the dishonour of God, to hypocrysye with you. If I tolde you not your faulte, it should be required at my handes in the daye of iudgement, therefore knowe you (ye hypocrites in dede) that it is the spirite of God, that telleth you your synne, and not I. I passe not (I thanke God) of all your cruelitie, God forgeue it you, and gyue you grace for to repente. And so they departed.

¶ The same daie at nighte before supper the bishop sente for me into his chapell, in the presence of Archedeacon Harpesfielde and doctour Chadsey, in the presence of other his chaplaynes, and his seruantes.

Master Philpot, I haue by sundry meanes gone about to do you good, and I meruail you do so lytle consyder it. By my truthe I can not tell what to say to you. Tell me directely, whether you wyll bee a confor-

conformable man or no, and wherupon you chiefly stand?

Philpot. I haue tolde youre lordeshyp oftentymes playne ynough, wheron I stand chiefly, requiryng a sure probation of the church, wherunto you call me.

Harpsf. S. Austin writinge againste the Donatistes declareth foure special notes to know the church by, the consent of many nations, the faith of the sacramentes confirmed by antiquitye, succession of bishops, and vniuersalitie.

London. I pray you maister Archdecon fette the booke hither, it is a notable place, let him se it. And the booke was brought, and the bishop red it, demanding howe I could answere the same?

Philpot. My lorde, I lyke Saincte Austines foure poyntes for the tryall of the catholyke church wherof I am. For it can abyde euery poynt thereof together, whyche yours canne not dooe.

Harpsfi. Haue not we succession of byshops, in the sea and churche of Rome wherfore then do you denye our churche to be the catholike churche?

Philpot. Saynct Austine doth not put succession of bishoppes onely to bee sufficiente, but he addeth the vse of the sacramentes, accordynge to antiquitie, and doctrine vniuersally taught and receyued of moste nations, frome the begynnyng of the primatiue churche, the whiche youre churche is farre from.

But

But my Churche can auouche all these bet-
ter than yours: therfore (by saint Austines
iudgement, whiche you here bryng) myne is
the catholike churche, and not yours.

Harpsfi. Chad. It is but folye (my lorde)
for you to reason with hym, for he is
irrecuperable.

Philpot. That is a good shyft for you to run
vnto, whan you be confounded in your owne
sayenges, and haue nothyng els to saye, you
are euidently deceyued. and yet wyll not see
it, when it is layde to your face.

Here ende as many of Iohn Philpots examinations, as came to the prynters handes, and as soone as the rest may be come by, thou shalte haue it, good reader, by the vvyll of God. In the meane tyme refresh thy selfe vvith this, praisyng god for the perseuerance of this constant learned martyr, and pray hartily for the reste of Christes poore afflicted churche.

Geue God the glory.